

CA20N  
Z1  
-74T40



Ontario

# UPDATE

The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto

December 1975

## Metro Toronto under review

The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto was established on September 10, 1974 by the Government of Ontario, at the request of Metro Council, to review, evaluate and make recommendations regarding the organization and financing of local government in Metropolitan Toronto. The Honourable John P. Robarts, the former Premier of Ontario, was appointed Commissioner. As part of its terms of reference, the Commission was charged with encouraging public participation in its deliberations and keeping the public informed about its work.

This paper briefly describes the background leading up to the creation of the Commission, the Commission's task, its terms of reference and approach. It identifies some of the questions and concerns that were raised during the spring session of the public hearings and describes some alternative governmental arrangements which have been proposed. This paper also outlines plans for the remainder of the Commission's public hearings.

The Commission will welcome questions, comments or suggestions from the public throughout the course of its inquiry. If on reviewing this paper, you feel there is any aspect of the organization of local government in Metropolitan Toronto which is not being given sufficient consideration, kindly contact the Commission. You may send in a letter or a written brief, arrange to have a public hearing with the Commissioner or set up an informal meeting with the Commission staff. Please do not hesitate to make your views known.



Honourable John P. Robarts, C.C., Q.C.,  
Commissioner

### Background

Prior to 1953, the area now known as Metropolitan Toronto was made up of 13 municipalities. A few, such as the City of Toronto, and the Townships of York and East York were relatively urbanized and had most of their major services in place. However, the outer municipalities such as Etobicoke, Scarborough and North York were predominantly rural and were caught unprepared for the rapid influx of people to the suburbs after World War II. With little industry, almost all of their own revenues came from taxes on



residential property. As a result, they were unable to finance the provision of essential services such as sewage disposal, water supply, and education for their rapidly expanding populations. The competition among these municipalities to attract industry as a means of increasing revenue did little to engender a spirit of co-operation among them.

Because the problems could not be solved at the local level, the matter was taken up by the provincial government. The Ontario Municipal Board held public hearings to consider different proposals for dealing with the situation and, in 1953, recommended the creation of a two-tiered system of local government for the area now known as Metro. As a result, in 1954, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto came into being, despite opposition from all of the municipalities concerned except the City of Toronto. This new federation meant that the total wealth of all 13 municipalities and particularly that of the City of Toronto could be used as backing for loans to finance needed capital works throughout the metropolitan area.

This new system of local government was composed of a council at the Metropolitan level made up of 24 representatives, 12 from the City and one from each of the councils of the other 12 area municipalities.

This federated system was not an hierarchical one. Instead there was a fairly clear division of powers between the two levels, and area municipalities carried out many of their programs independently of Metro. They could also negotiate directly with the senior levels of government in certain areas.

Services such as policing, fire protection and local planning remained at the local level, the provision of such services as the water supply were shared with Metro, and major activities of area-wide importance such as prop-

erty assessment, administration of the courts, and public transit were under Metro's jurisdiction. In addition, Metro did all borrowing on behalf of the area municipalities. It did not, however, approve their capital budgets.

With the creation of Metro, the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board was established to prepare an official plan for Metropolitan Toronto and the surrounding region, a total area of 715 square miles. At the same time, the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education and the Metropolitan Separate School Board were established to coordinate activities and equalize educational opportunities in Metro. The City of Toronto's transportation commission was expanded to serve all of Metropolitan Toronto and was renamed the Toronto Transit Commission (T.T.C.).

In 1957, further changes were made. The Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority was established to conserve and develop for recreation the streams, rivers and river valleys in Metro. The 13 local police forces were united under the Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police. The responsibility for licensing businesses was transferred from the area municipalities to the Metro level with the creation of the Metropolitan Licensing Commission.

For the first decade of its existence, the Metro system worked well. Numerous capital works were undertaken. Sewage systems were installed, the water supply improved, new roads and transit lines were built, and schools were constructed at a remarkable pace.

However, this new system was not without its problems. The priorities and needs of the City and inner municipalities differed substantially from those of the suburbs. There were still financial disparities, particularly in education, and there was increasing dissatisfaction with the system of representation on Metro Council since the population of

the suburbs had grown rapidly while the City's population had increased very little.

### The Goldenberg Commission

As a result, in 1963, the Ontario Government appointed H. Carl Goldenberg to head the first Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto established to review the Metro system.

The province accepted some but not all of Goldenberg's recommendations. The number of municipalities was reduced to the six we have today. Metro Council was increased from 24 to 32 members plus the Chairman. While the City kept its 12 representatives, borough representation was increased from 12 to 20. The following responsibilities were also transferred to Metro: garbage disposal (but not collection), social services such as the provision of general welfare assistance

Index	
The Organization of Local Government in Metro	Page 3
The Electoral System	3
Finance	10
Population Trends	13
Planning	14
Housing	14
Transportation	16
Physical Services, Environmental Protection and Energy Supply	21
Public Safety Services	23
Social and Human Services	25
• Education	25
• Health	26
• Social Welfare	28
• Recreation	29
• Libraries	30

The Organization of Local Government in Metropolitan Toronto 1975 —  
Centre-spread insert



and day care centres, the supervision of an area wide ambulance service and the administration of the Canadian National Exhibition. The Metropolitan Toronto Library Board was created to co-ordinate area library services and provide reference libraries.

In education, a Metro-wide mill rate was established to reduce disparities in educational financing. The number of school boards was reduced from 11 to 6 to correspond with the new municipal boundaries and the representation of the suburbs was increased on the Metro Board of Education.

More recently, other changes have occurred. For example, the responsibility for the administration of the courts, air pollution control and the assessment of property has been taken over by the province. The Metro Planning Board has been replaced by a Metro Planning Department which is directly responsible to Metro Council. New regional governments have been created around Metro where much of the growth is occurring and these new governments have been assigned the task of developing official plans for their respective regions. In addition, Metro Council has been expanded to give greater representation to the Boroughs of North York, Etobicoke and Scarborough. At present, representation on Metro Council is as follows: The City of Toronto 12, North York 9, Scarborough 6, Etobicoke 5, York 3, East York 2, in addition to the Chairman.

## Why this Commission?

In 1966, when the province amended *The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act* in response to the Goldenberg Report, a further review of the Metro system was promised when deemed necessary. In 1974, Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey suggested that a review of the Metro system be undertaken and a resolution to this effect was passed by Metro Council. It has been acknowledged by many that one of the main reasons for the success of the Metro system has been the willingness to review and alter it to meet new and different circumstances.

## Changing role of local government

The amount and pace of change in nearly every aspect of our society over the last decade has had enormous implications for Metropolitan Toronto and its government. As Tom Flunkett, Chairman of the Institute of Local Government at Queen's University pointed out at a conference on Metro Toronto last spring, the role of local government has generally evolved from one of trusteeship to a political one. Originally local government in Ontario was designed to provide a limited number of physical services and councillors were seen as trustees of the public interest in the provision of these services.

In fact, early Toronto looked south of the border, saw some of the problems developing in American cities and, as a result, made every attempt to keep its local government non-political. Many functions were assigned to special purpose bodies which were independent of council and therefore were seen as less corruptible.

Local government at that time was generally not as issue- or policy-oriented as it is today. Now that most of the physical services are in place in Metropolitan Toronto, conflicting and competing demands on local government in Metro have required it to become more political in nature.



Looking north from Yonge Street and St. Clair Avenue

The rapid increase in population in Metro and the size of the urban concentration here have resulted in demands for many social and human services. Conflicts have arisen in the community with respect to the kinds of services which ought to be provided and for what sectors in the community. For example, local councillors were once elected only by property owners and largely served them. Today, a substantial number of Metro's residents are tenants and provided they are citizens, they now have the right to vote. Nonetheless, some people have questioned the extent to which the present system of local government serves their interests.

The impact and long-term consequences of local decision-making are being examined increasingly. Now that local government is becoming more involved in making political decisions which affect local neighbourhoods, such as which community groups should receive funds, who receives day care services, whether or not a stadium should be built, and where major developments are to be located, the public has begun to demand a greater voice in local decision making. Many now claim that too much power has been vested in special purpose bodies which are not sufficiently accountable to the electorate. Others contend that people have lost control over their lives since they have only a limited say in what happens in their own neighbourhoods. Even the role of the councillor has been debated at length. Some claim councillors should act as delegates simply conveying the collective views of their constituents. Others feel representatives are elected to provide leadership and ought to be allowed to make independent judgments. Still other citizens are concerned about the power exercised by the Metro Chairman, the mayors and the civic bureaucracy.

## Urban growth

Another concern of the Commission is what should be done or can be done about urban growth? There is little evidence that urban growth can

be stopped entirely. Even programs designed to achieve this end in totalitarian countries have met with limited success. Nonetheless, because of the tremendous growth in Metro over the last twenty years, there are questions related to the management of growth, the distribution of growth in the region and the slowing of the rate of growth to be considered by the Commission.

In the past, accommodating growth involved developing vacant land. Today, Metro has very little vacant land left and most of it will be used up by 1980. Further growth within Metro will have to be accommodated by either redevelopment at higher densities or doubling up within existing accommodation. Most of us are aware of the bitter controversies that have surrounded redevelopment in recent years. Doubling up has no more enthusiasts.

Some people feel that further growth in this area can be accommodated in the three surrounding regions of Peel, York and Durham. While this is already occurring to some extent, we know that major new developments immediately outside the boundaries of Metro will result in more people seeking employment and services in Metro unless these regions develop greatly increased job opportunities. At present, there is no indication that the surrounding municipalities are becoming self-sufficient.

Metro has no voice in deciding where development should be concentrated in the surrounding area despite the fact that it may be seriously affected by decisions on this question.

## Inter-regional co-ordination

Growth in the area around Metro has been accompanied by the creation of regional governments, new provincial planning initiatives and special purpose bodies such as the Toronto Area Transit Operating Authority. How these relate to the over-all system of local government in and near Metro must be examined.

## Financing local government in Metro

The greatly expanded role for local government in Metropolitan Toronto has been accompanied by spiralling costs. The civil service at both the Metropolitan and area municipality levels has expanded at an unprecedented rate in response to increased demands for all kinds of services. In contrast to the past, public servants have formed strong associations and unions and now receive remuneration competitive with the private sector.

There is concern that the present system for financing local government in Ontario will not generate sufficient revenues to sustain the present level of municipal services in Metro in the future.

## Other concerns

Other specific issues which the Commission will have to consider include the process of selecting Metro Council and the Metro Chairman, the system of representation, the division of responsibilities among the different bodies and levels of government and the need for increased co-ordination of their activities.

## Terms of reference

To give this new Commission the latitude and flexibility required to conduct a major review of local government in Metro, terms of reference were devised by Metro and the province which are both comprehensive and open-ended.

The Commissioner is instructed to examine, evaluate and make recommendations on the organization, financing and operations of local government in the Metropolitan Toronto area including all municipalities and all local and Metro boards and commissions. Consideration of a single tier or amalgamated form of government is specifically included. Recommendations are to be based on both present and anticipated future social and economic conditions and growth patterns. In this connection, the Commission will look at municipal boundaries, the division of responsibilities among various government bodies and the selection and roles of those who govern Metro. It will examine the system of representation in Metro, the relationship between the electors and elected, the system of administration and the financial well-being of Metro. Finally, the terms of reference include a clause which empowers the Commissioner to examine any matter which he deems relevant to local government in this area.

## The Commission's approach

While the task of the Commission is to review the structure, organization and financing of local government, this task cannot be carried out without making some assumptions about what Metro's local government should be doing. This is one area of the Commission's work where the public can make a major contribution. The Commission's recommendations must be based on a knowledge of the kind of community we want, what we expect from our local government and how much we are willing to pay for it. It is then possible to evaluate our



present system of local government and determine where its strengths and weaknesses lie.

As a starting point, the Commission had a series of background reports prepared which describe the existing system of local government in Metropolitan Toronto.

These reports are available free of charge to the public to assist in preparing submissions to the Commission. In addition, they are available in every public library in Metropolitan Toronto for those who wish to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with our present Metro system.

This series consists of the following reports:

- The Organization of Local Government in Metropolitan Toronto
- A Financial Profile of Metropolitan Toronto and its Constituent Municipalities, 1967-1973.
- The Planning Process in Metropolitan Toronto
- The Electoral System for Metropolitan Toronto
- Demographic Trends in Metropolitan Toronto
- The Provision and Conservation of Housing in Metropolitan Toronto
- Transportation Organization in Metropolitan Toronto
- Physical Services, Environmental Protection and Energy Supply in Metropolitan Toronto
- Public Safety Services in Metropolitan Toronto
- Social Policy in Metropolitan Toronto

## Public Hearings

At these reports were published, the Commission began its first series of public hearings.

From May 22 to July 17, 1975, the Commission heard briefs from the following individuals and groups:

1. Martin Amber
2. Annex Ratepayers Association
3. Association of Women Electors
4. John Atkin
5. Campbell Atkinson
6. George Bechtel
7. Jack Bedder
8. Hans Blumenfeld
9. Bureau of Municipal Research
10. Malcolm Cairnduff
11. Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations
12. Communist Party of Canada, Metro Toronto Committee
13. Downtown Action
14. East York Firefighters Association
15. Etobicoke Board of Education
16. Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations

17. Etobicoke Firefighters Association
18. Marshall Foss, Thorncrest Development Ltd.
19. Edmund Fowler
20. Frederick Gardiner, Q.C.
21. Dennis Heffernan
22. Val Hill
23. Hospital Council of Metropolitan Toronto
24. Industrial Cartage Association of Metropolitan Toronto
25. Alderman Ray Ireland, East York
26. Albert Kaia
27. Alderman Donald Kitchen, Pickering
28. Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto
29. Leasehold Property Owners Association
30. Peter Loebel
31. Dr. George Luste
32. Norma Mackenzie
33. John Martyniuk
34. Metropolitan Toronto Airport Review Committee
35. Metropolitan Toronto Co-ordinating Committee, New Democratic Party
36. Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority
37. Metropolitan Toronto Hospital Planning Council
38. Clark Mearhead
39. National Survival Institute
40. North Jarvis Community Association
41. North York Firefighters Association
42. Old Millside Residents Association
43. Ontario Association of Architects, Toronto Chapter
44. Eli Ophek
45. Frank Oxley

46. Parkdale Tenants Association
47. Dennis Prinsold
48. William Roberts
49. Ian Rogers, Q.C.
50. Ian Rosan
51. Ryerson Polytechnical Institute's Politics Class 015
52. Ryerson Polytechnical Institute's Politics Class 016
53. Alderman Leslie Saunders, East York
54. Scarborough Board of Education
55. Scarborough Firefighters Association
56. School of Economic Science
57. Robert Spencer
58. Technical Economists Ltd.
59. Thorncliffe Park Community Organization
60. Toronto Island Residents Association
61. Toronto Non-Profit Housing Federation
62. Peggy Witt
63. York Professional Firefighters
64. Zero Population Growth

In addition, written briefs were submitted by the following:

1. Bathurst Heights Secondary School, Grade 12 Class
2. Hollis Beckett, Q.C.
3. Ronald Bentley
4. Eric Bow
5. William Code
6. Collegiate Community Ratepayers Association
7. Convention and Tourist Bureau of Metropolitan Toronto
8. Wesley Corner
9. Neil Craig
10. Ted Culp
11. East York Public Library Board
12. Etobicoke Teachers Federation

13. Etobicoke Hydro Electric Commission
14. Clare Farrow
15. Henry Fliess
16. Norman Gaudet
17. Frederick Gerson
18. John Gillespie
19. David Greenspan
20. Robert Hamilton
21. Glenn Julian
22. James Mills
23. Hubert Morris
24. Kenneth Mucha
25. Oak-Vaughan Ratepayers Association
26. Edmund Peschey, Bloor Lea Investments
27. Nigel Richardson
28. Kenneth Robinson, M.P. (Toronto Lakeshore)
29. Elwyn Rogers
30. William Sutton
31. Toronto Area Archivists Group
32. Toronto Area Industrial Development Board
33. West Kingsway Ratepayers Association
34. Barry Zimmerman, M.D.

These briefs and the transcripts of the hearings may be examined at the Municipal Reference Library (at City Hall) or in the Commission's offices.

Further briefs are being heard at a second series of hearings between October 8 and December 19, 1975 in the theatre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor St. West. For details as to scheduling, telephone or write: The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, 145 Queen St. West, Suite 309, Toronto M5H 2N9; Telephone 965-3211.



The Honourable John Roberts (right) with Commission Counsel, Richard Rohmer at the public hearings

Paul Smith

# The Organization of Local Government in Metro

In Canada, municipalities have no constitutional base and, as a result, derive their powers from provincial statutes. In addition, as Canada has become more urbanized, the federal government has become increasingly involved in urban affairs. Therefore, to understand the system of local government in Metropolitan Toronto, it is important to be aware of its relationships with the senior levels of government.

## Role of the Federal Government

While the federal government is becoming increasingly involved in urban affairs, it has very little jurisdiction in local government. Its influence is primarily through special programs delivered at the local level.

To date, one of its most significant influences has been in housing.

Through the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, it offers a mortgage insurance program to maintain a high level of financing (investment) for new houses. It also makes loans to the province, and to co-operatives and non-profit corporations for the provision of housing; and, to some degree, it influences the kind of housing which is provided by allocating more funds to certain types of housing projects.

In recent years, the role of the federal government in urban affairs has attracted considerable attention in the Metro area because of its housing assistance programs, especially in the central area, its transport decisions relating to the proposed Pickering airport and the proposed Metro Centre development. The federal government also has a major involvement in the development of the waterfront, and it owns the land now being used as the Downsview airport, which is being

considered for future development.

In its brief to the Commission, the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations was particularly critical of the "in again-out again" nature of federal involvement in urban matters. It referred to the many projects initiated by the federal government, without consulting local government, under such programs as the Local Initiatives Program (L.I.P.), and Opportunities for Youth (O.F.Y.). It claims that once many of these projects are underway, federal support is withdrawn, leaving the municipality with the unpleasant task of refusing to fund an established project or carrying the burden of its costs regardless of how it fits into local priorities.

## Role of the Province

To quote from a report, *The Organization of Local Government in*

*Metropolitan Toronto* prepared for the Commission by Smith, Auld and Associates Ltd.:

"The role of the Province of Ontario in local government in Metropolitan Toronto is profound. Its control and influence is exercised both directly and through its own special purpose bodies in three major ways: by statute, by approval of local decisions and through funding."

The major statutes applicable to Metropolitan Toronto are *The Municipal Act* and *The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act*. These statutes set out areas where it is mandatory that local governments provide services such as transportation and areas where they may choose to provide services such as environmental programs like the recycling of newspapers and the control of outdoor



signs. Both of these statutes are administered by the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs. The Smith-Add report also indicates the extent of involvement of other provincial bodies in local affairs:

"Other provincial departments and special purpose bodies which exercise supervisory jurisdiction in municipal matters include, but are not limited to, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Community and Social Services, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ontario Police Commission, and Ontario Hydro. Thus for example, the Public Health Act administered by the Ministry of Health requires that a local board of health be established in each of the six area municipalities within the metropolitan area."

The report goes on to say that:

"Many decisions taken at the area municipality and metropolitan municipal level also require the specific approval of the province — in particular, but not only, by the Ontario Municipal Board. This Board is a quasi-judicial and administrative body which is empowered to settle disputes between municipalities, between municipalities and their citizens and to approve municipal decisions involving both capital expenditure and most land-use planning."

Local government in the metropolitan area, which funds itself by means of property taxes and other revenues such as license fees, is not financially self-sufficient and is heavily dependent upon transfer payments from the province in order to fund its activities. These payments are made in various ways, by many provincial departments including through the use of conditional grants (i.e. monies earmarked for a particular purpose). A relatively small proportion of the area municipality and Metropolitan municipality budgets is therefore allocated totally at the discretion of the Metropolitan, City, or borough councils."

However, it would be simplistic to assume that local government simply administers provincial policies. Indeed, there is a strong tradition of local self-government in Ontario, with municipal involvement in fields such as health care, education, and transportation going back to before Confederation.

## Local Government responsibilities

Local governments are corporations and, as such, they are legal entities with specific powers and responsibilities. Most of the services they provide involve frequent and direct contact with the public. For example, the provision of such services as water, electricity, sewerage, education, most transportation, local recreation, fire fighting and policing are all municipal responsibilities. Municipalities are also responsible for transportation and land-use planning, welfare administration and the provision of some assisted housing.

## How Local Governments are organized

### Mayor

In urban areas, Ontario's local governments are headed by a mayor who is elected at large. The mayor must attend council meetings, is expected to preserve order at these meetings and, if necessary, can call

special meetings of council. Where executive committees or boards of control exist, the mayor is their head. The mayor also sits ex-officio on all council committees. While the mayor is the head of the council, the position carries with it few legislated powers. Nonetheless by virtue of the position, the mayor can and does influence council. The mayor has numerous opportunities to interact with the community and with other government leaders. As the size and complexity of local governments have increased, there has been a growing tendency for councillors to rely on the mayor's office for policy initiatives and direction in controversial issues. Finally, the mayor has the power that comes with a municipality-wide mandate from the electors.

## Municipal Council

Municipalities are divided up into a number of geographical units of comparable population called wards. The residents of each ward elect one or two representatives to the municipal council. These representatives along with elected controllers, if any, and the mayor, constitute the total council. Councils have both legislative and administrative functions. Given the statutory limitations in which they may operate, councils develop policies and adopt bylaws based on these policies. In addition, councils often adopt resolutions on matters outside of their jurisdiction as a means of influencing decisions to be taken by other bodies. Either as a whole, through a board of control or through an executive committee, councils administer their bylaws by instructions to public servants employed by the municipal corporations.

## Board of Control or Executive Committee

The Boroughs of Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough and York all have boards of control which are important statutory bodies with considerable executive power. Members of boards of control, like the mayor, are elected at large in the municipality.

Boards of control prepare the annual estimates of expenditures for submission to council, call for tenders for materials and supplies, prepare specifications for, and award contracts; and have considerable decision-making authority in the selection, compensation and dismissal of senior civil servants. However, their decisions may be over-ruled by a two-thirds vote of the full council. Like the mayors, controllers serve on Metro Council and on other municipal bodies, especially the standing and sub-committees of council.

The City of Toronto has an executive committee which carries out most of the functions of a board of control but is selected differently. It is made up of the mayor and four members chosen by city councillors from among the senior aldermen elected in each ward. Executive committee members also serve on Metro Council and on council committees at both levels. It is believed by many that an executive committee chosen by and from council is better than a board of control made up of controllers elected at large. For one thing it reduces the tendency for their members to compete with the mayor. It is also said to make the executive more accountable to the council.

East York has a relatively small council which as a whole carries out the executive function. (See centre-spread)

## Council Committees

The area municipalities in Metro all have standing committees of council which are normally chaired by an alderman rather than the mayor or a member of the board of control or executive committee. These committees meet regularly and their primary function is to manage and direct, subject to the approval of full council, the operation of departments providing direct service to the public, although in some municipalities they supervise internal administrative departments as well. Standing committees hear delegations from the public, providing an important opportunity for people to meet with their elected representatives in a formal and open setting, since delegations are not allowed to appear before council in some Metro municipalities. These committees do not have statutory power and the committee structure is reorganized by council from time to time. The area municipalities have between three and six standing committees with such titles as Parks and Recreation Committee, Transportation Committee, Building and Property Committee and Social Services Committee.

In addition to these standing committees, council may establish shorter-term committees or task forces to carry out a specific task. These committees normally report directly to council and often have a significant influence on decision-making. An example of this type of committee is the Core Area Task Force in the City of Toronto.

## Administration

The administration of local government in Metro is carried out by civil servants organized into line departments which serve the public,

such as Planning, Transportation, Development and Parks and Recreation. In addition there are the essential staff departments such as Finance, Personnel, Purchasing and the Legal departments.

The administrative heads of the major departments are usually but not always called commissioners. None of the area municipalities has a chief administrative officer appointed within the civil service although such a position has recently been created at the Metro level.

Staff departments usually report to the executive body, be it a board of control, an executive committee or, as in East York, the full council. The department heads also report to an appropriate committee of council on operational or technical matters.

A council is required by law to appoint auditors, a clerk, a treasurer and a medical officer of health. It can set up the remainder of its administrative structure as it wishes. However, in Metro, the structure of the different municipalities is very similar.

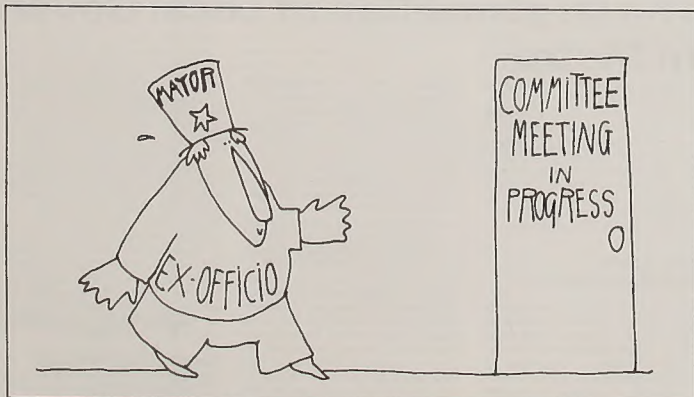
## Special Purpose Bodies

Aside from those services provided by the departments and councils of local governments in Metro, a good deal of decision making responsibility rests with special purpose bodies (see Figure II). Some of these bodies are elected directly, some are appointed by councils and some are made up of both private citizens and elected representatives, the latter being appointed by their respective councils or boards of education. While many of these bodies report to or are funded by Metro or a local municipality, a significant number enjoy a considerable amount of power and autonomy.

The commonly held justifications for creating such bodies are that they are specialized and can provide a more efficient service, that they remove some very sensitive areas from direct political influence, and that they provide more opportunities for direct citizen participation in local affairs.

Many of us are aware of the stories of the abuse of power in cities where judges, licensing officials, police commissioners, tax assessors and the like are directly elected. There is no doubt that when Metro is compared with these cities, its special purpose bodies can be said to have worked well in terms of both efficiency and integrity. However, there are those who would like to see a reduction in the number of special purpose bodies and a number of others who think that such bodies should be under the control of council and therefore directly accountable to the electorate.

The contention that special pur-





## Figure II

### Special Purpose Bodies With Policy and Program Responsibilities

#### School Boards

Metropolitan Toronto  
City of Toronto  
East York  
Etobicoke  
North York  
Scarborough  
York  
Metropolitan Separate

Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto  
Catholic Children's Aid of Metropolitan Toronto  
Metropolitan Toronto Licensing Commission  
Metropolitan Toronto Board of Commissioners of Police

#### East York

Hydro Commission  
Board of Health  
Library Board  
Planning Board

Library Board  
Planning Board

#### Scarborough

Public Utilities Commission  
Board of Health  
Library Board  
Planning Board

#### Metropolitan Toronto

Toronto Transit Commission  
Metropolitan Toronto Library Board  
Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority

#### City of Toronto

Toronto Hydro Electric Commission  
Toronto Harbour Commission  
Board of Health  
Public Library Board  
Planning Board

#### Etobicoke

Hydro Commission  
Board of Health  
Library Board  
Planning Board

#### North York

Hydro Commission  
Cemetery Board

#### York

Board of Health  
Library Board  
Planning Board

### Special Purpose Bodies With Narrow Program Responsibilities

#### Metropolitan Toronto

CNE Association  
Royal Agricultural Winter Fair Association  
Metro Toronto Housing Co. Ltd.  
Civic Garden Centre Board of Management  
Board of Management of the O'Keefe Centre  
Toronto Area Industrial Development Board  
Convention and Tourist Bureau of Metropolitan Toronto  
Community Information Centre  
Metropolitan Toronto Zoological Society

#### City of Toronto

Parking Authority of Toronto  
City of Toronto Non Profit Housing Corporation  
Committee of Adjustment  
Non-Residential Standards Appeal Board of Management  
— George Bell Arena  
— Ted Reeve Arena

— North Toronto Memorial Arena  
— University Settlement Recreation Centre  
— Good Neighbours Club  
— Premises No. 224 Cowan Avenue  
— Sir William Campbell House  
— Balm Beach Park  
— Second Mile Club  
— Forest Hill Memorial Arena  
— McCormick Playground Arena  
— William H. Bolton Arena  
— Bloor West Village Business Improvement Area  
— St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts  
— Junction Business Improvement Area  
— Carlton Village  
— Ronssevalles Business Improvement Area  
— Howard Park Tennis Club  
— Premises No. 97 Main Street  
— Moss Park Arena  
Board of Management of Community Centres  
Toronto Humane Society

#### East York

Committee of Adjustment  
Property Standards Committee  
Court of Revision  
Cedarvale Park Board  
Leaside Memorial Community Gardens Board  
East York Foundation  
East York Curling Rinks Board  
Historical and Arts Board

#### Etobicoke

Committee of Adjustment  
Property Standards Committee  
Community Centres Board  
Cemetery Board

#### North York

Committee of Adjustment  
Court of Revision  
Property Standards Committee

#### Memorial Community Hall Board of Management

North York Recreational Committee  
Community Centres Board of Management

#### Scarborough

Community Centres Board of Management  
Committee of Adjustment  
Court of Revision  
Property Standards Committee

#### York

Borough of York Housing Co. Ltd.  
McEachern Community Centre Board of Management  
Community Centres Board of Management  
Parking Authority  
Committee of Adjustment  
Court of Revision  
Community Medical Health Centre Board of Management

pose boards and commissions are more efficient at administration and "removed from politics" was disputed in a brief to the Commission from Ian McFee Rogers, Q.C. He wrote:

"Councils can hire the same administrators who are now employed by these boards without any reduction in efficiency if they assume a function now discharged by a board". In addition, he claimed that "politics are not removed as every member of council knows when he is lobbied by incumbents and aspirants to boards, and this continues to be a factor when the councillor calls an appointee whom he has voted for to return the 'favour' at election time".

Mr. Rogers recommended the abolition of the following bodies and the transfer of their powers to Metro or the area municipalities:

- Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police
- Metropolitan Licensing Commission
- Public Library Board
- Local Boards of Health
- Local Public Utility Commissions
- Local Planning Boards

Edmund Fowler also supported this position in his brief to the Commission. He wrote:

"Surely every academic that has appeared before every Royal Commission on local government has complained of the multiplicity of independent commissions and authorities which cling like huge barnacles to the ship of municipal government. (Perhaps the message will finally get through!) At the provincial level we have no qualms about centralizing the Cabinet control over police, education, transportation, and other huge vital services of modern government. But somehow at the local level, such services will suffer from venal poli-

tical interference. Most of Metro's gigantic budget is siphoned off to immense sub-bureaucracies like education (which even has its own elected representatives), or to the police, or to the tremendous transit system. The sheer momentum of tradition precludes immediate tampering with the education system, unfortunately, but the Commission is urged to recommend that every other service at the Metro level should be a regular part of Metro Council's committee structure and of Metro's bureaucracy."

Other presentations identified problems with particular special purpose bodies. For example, committees of adjustment who are responsible for minor changes in subdivision plans and variances from zoning bylaws were identified as agencies whose decisions are not subject to any control by council. This complicates the fact that councils are responsible for decisions taken in accordance with municipal plans but committees of adjustment are not.

One area where opinion regarding special purpose bodies is more evenly divided is planning. A number of citizen groups favour the retention of planning boards at the area municipality level, while others feel that planning should be administered by a department of local government. However, the greater concern appears to be that local municipalities retain control over planning within their boundaries.

Special purpose, intergovernmental co-ordinating bodies not involved in the provision of services generally have not been criticized in the briefs presented to the Commission to date. In fact a number of briefs, including those from the Metro Toronto Co-ordinating Committee of the New Democratic Party, the Association of Women Electors, the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associa-

tions, the Toronto Chapter of the Ontario Association of Architects and the Annex Ratepayers called for the creation of intergovernmental bodies to co-ordinate planning and/or service delivery on an inter-regional level. Many of these groups stressed the fact that the role played by the senior levels of government in local affairs should be made much more overt and should be better understood by the public. In fact, one citizen suggested abolishing local government since in his opinion it was controlled by the senior levels of government anyway.

The concern of the public about special purpose bodies does not appear to center around the question of integrity but rather around their lack of accountability to the electorate. Critics of special purpose bodies claim they detract from the responsibility of elected councils and at times provide a convenient means of allowing councils to shirk their responsibilities. They claim too that such bodies impair the co-ordination of local activities and priorities and make it difficult to plan on a municipal or Metro-wide basis.

Another argument which surfaced in some of the briefs is the fact that the greatest increases in costs at the local level tend to be in those areas administered by special purpose bodies such as policing, education and public transit, yet municipal councils have very little control over their policies or budgets. However, none of the briefs submitted cited examples of overspending or the mismanagement of funds on the part of these bodies.

In a 1968 publication, *The 101 Governments of Metropolitan Toronto*, the Bureau of Municipal Research summed up these arguments with regard to special purpose bodies, when it referred to the "present situation in which little islands of autonomy, insulated from the electorate and its elected representatives detract from municipal democracy".

## Metro

The organization of the Metro tier virtually parallels that of the area municipalities except that members of Metro Council are indirectly elected by virtue of their position at the area municipality level. Like the City, Metro has an executive committee. However its membership is designated in legislation to ensure that each area municipality is adequately represented. Metro has no mayor but rather a Metropolitan Chairman who is selected by but is not necessarily a member of Metro Council. (See centre-spread)

## Metro's structure

### Some of the choices

## Amalgamation ... Yes?

A number of individuals and groups submitted briefs to the Commission recommending the amalgamation of all local governments in Metropolitan Toronto. Included in this group were Hollis Beckett, Q.C., Neil Craig, Ted Culp; former Metro Chairman Frederick Gardiner, Q.C., Norman Gaudet, the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Hubert Morris and Byrson Polytechnical Institute's Politics Class 015. In addition, both major daily newspapers in Toronto have supported amalgamation editorially.

For the most part, amalgamation is suggested as a means of providing more efficient, less costly local government. Those favoring amalgamation claim that it would lead to the greater equalization of services throughout Metro. In addition, some see it as a possible solution to the split that has developed on Metro Council between the inner and outer municipalities. Mr.



Gardiner, for example, suggested that an amalgamated Metro be divided up into 24 strip wards stretching from Metro's northern boundary to the lake. Such wards, he claimed, would contain residents of all socio-economic and interest groups thereby making it more difficult for special interest groups to dominate local government — a situation which he feels exists now and one which he deplores. The opposite view was expressed in a report on Metro's electoral system prepared for the Commission by Tom Flunkett who says that voting districts should keep communities of interest intact.

## Amalgamation... No?

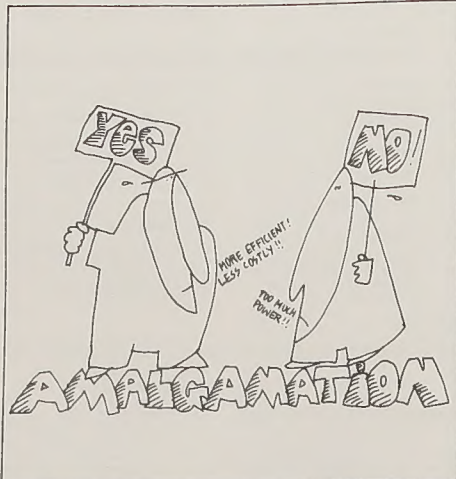
East York's Leaside Property Owners and Collegiate Community Ratepayers submitted briefs requesting the retention of small local governments such as that of East York, which are closer to the people and allow for more direct participation of citizens in local government. This viewpoint was also expressed in briefs from the Old Millside Residents Association in the Borough of York and from William Roberts who claims that the quality of life in the Swansea area has deteriorated since its amalgamation with the City of Toronto in 1967.

Some groups, such as the Metro

A number of those opposed to amalgamation who have submitted briefs to the Commission, such as Henry Fleiss, feel that Metro's six municipalities are too large for ideal interaction between the people and government. However, proponents of amalgamation pointed out that amalgamation need not create a municipality which is too big for participation. Ted Culp, for example, suggests that this problem can be overcome by the creation of ward or community councils to deal with neighbourhood problems and advise the larger City Council on matters of wider concern.

Co-ordinating Committee of the New Democratic Party, warned of the power a single municipality the size of Metropolitan Toronto could wield. Such warnings are consistent with a concern repeatedly expressed at the Commission's hearings about the dangers and negative effects of big government, the over-centralization of power and rapidly growing, unresponsive bureaucracies.

A few individuals and groups who did not favour total amalgamation did favour the amalgamation of some services such as fire fighting and snow removal.



## Retention of Two Tier System?

Of those briefs to date which have included comments on the overall structure of local government in Metro, a significant majority have recommended the retention of the two-tier system. However, there was far from total agreement on the internal or external boundaries of Metro, the division of responsibilities between the two tiers or the number of area municipalities there ought to be.

In his brief to the Commission, Professor Dennis Heffernan, known for his work in municipal law and his involvement on the former Metro and the Scarborough Planning Board, claimed that the present two-tier system is divisive. If it is to be retained, he feels that the division of responsibilities between Metro and the area municipalities, particularly in areas such as planning, requires examination and redefinition.

He expressed concern too about a

recent proposal that the core area of the City be administered as a separate unit by Metro. In his view, such a move would simply make it easier to make decisions harmful to both the core and the surrounding area by disenfranchising City dwellers on matters of concern to their community. Since many new developments planned or already approved will significantly increase the residential population of the core, he stressed that these people must be assured of the same political rights as those living in other parts of Metro.

Given a two-tier system, three alternatives emerge from the various viewpoints expressed.

- Strengthen area municipalities
- Make only minor changes to our present system
- Strengthen Metro



East York presents its brief to the Commission (left to right): Duncan Little, Treasurer; Doris Tucker, Clerk; His Worship Mayor Willis Blair.

## Two tier system with stronger area municipalities

Submissions to the Commission to date have generally favoured the strengthening of area municipalities in relationship to Metro. The most vocal in this regard were citizen and community groups such as the Thorncliffe Park Community Organization, the Annex Residents, the Parkdale Tenants Association and the Toronto Island Residents Association. They were strongly supported by numerous individuals and groups such as Downtown Action, the Ontario Association of Architects, the New Democratic Party, and the Communist Party.

Most of these groups are opposed to big, large-scale local government. They suggest it results in problems of inefficiency, unresponsiveness, the creation of too powerful bureaucracies, lack of accountability, lack of citizen access to decision-makers and administrators, and the subsequent loss of control over the actions of government affecting the day to day lives of people.

A common theme characterized the briefs of a number of those who supported strengthening the area municipalities. They pointed out that Metro was primarily created to coordinate and finance the provision of essential services such as education, sewerage and water supply for its rapidly increasing population. Today most of these services are established and there is little room for new de-

velopment. Therefore, they claim that Metro's sole function at the present time ought to be a co-ordinating one but that its staff and elected representatives are seeking a new role. Institutions, they point out, do not self-destruct easily.

The briefs received so far from nearly every community group suggest that many of the services now offered by Metro be returned to the area municipalities.

As the Thorncliffe Park Community Organization pointed out in its brief, the role of local government has shifted from providing physical services to providing human services which, they claim, should be rationalized and delivered at the neighbourhood level. They say that very few economies of scale have ever been achieved in the delivery of human services at a regional level.

The Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations' brief also suggested that the responsibility for regional parks and all public libraries be returned to the area municipalities. It suggested that a library such as the Central Reference Library could be administered by the City with the cost shared on a *pro rata* basis with the other area municipalities.

Many submissions also supported retaining or even strengthening the role

of the area municipalities in planning. Included in their numbers were the Leaside Property Owners, the South Rosedale Ratepayers and the Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations. A number of these groups supported the notion of a strong area municipality role in planning, with such planning co-ordinated on a regional scale, perhaps over the entire area between Oakville and Bowmanville. Most claimed Metro's role in planning should be minimal.

Dr. George Luste and the Oak-Vaughan Ratepayers from York both commented on the loss of neighbourhood contact with the police after the police force amalgamation in 1957. Dr. Luste suggested that a two-tier police structure might be desirable.

A final point related to strengthening the lower tier was stressed in the brief of the Leaside Property Owners Association. In its view services designed to meet local needs should be delivered and paid for at that level. It argues that because Metro spends such a large share of the municipal tax dollar, area municipalities have become fiscally irresponsible, with all trying to ensure that they get their per capita share of the funds allocated for each program area whether or not they need them. For example, it claims

many schools which may be adequate are being rebuilt or renovated by the older municipalities as a means of collecting a share of the capital funds set aside for educational facilities.

## The present system with a few modifications

The briefs from Ronald Bentley, Alderman Leslie Saunders of East York, Jack Bender and the Oak-Vaughan Ratepayers Association were perhaps the most supportive of the present Metro system. However, most suggested some changes in jurisdiction, electoral procedures, and so on.

Numerous briefs suggested the retention of the two-tier system with six area municipalities but there was very little agreement as to how responsibilities should be divided between the two tiers.

Briefs from James Mills, Bathurst Heights Collegiate Geography Class 53B, Robert Hamilton and Edmund Peachey suggested that the number of area municipalities be reduced to three or four so that their populations would be equalized, boundaries would reflect



natural communities and some additional economies of scale would be achieved.

A few others suggested that municipal councils should be strengthened by reducing the number of special purpose bodies. Finally, a number of briefs suggested amalgamating individual services such as education, garbage collection, fire fighting and public health.

However, from the briefs received to date, there appears to be very little support for retaining our present Metro system without some fairly major modifications. On the other hand, it must be remembered that those who are satisfied with a system are less likely to take the trouble to submit a brief than those who wish to suggest changes.

## Strengthen Metro

The majority of briefs favouring a stronger Metro also supported amalgamation. However, there were a few that argued that the retention of the two-tier system was essential, but that Metro should play a more dominant role in some areas.

Dr. Hans Blumenfeld, a well known urban planner, suggested that Metro have a much stronger role in planning and the implementation of plans. At the same time, he recommended increasing the number of area municipalities to perhaps 20 to allow for more direct participation in neighbourhood government.

Submissions from Dr. Blumenfeld, Technical Economists Ltd., Alderman Donald Kitchen of Pickering, Frederick Gardiner and Glenn Julian all suggested expanding Metro's boundaries to take in developed areas already oriented toward Metro for employment. The underlying assumption behind recommendations to expand Metro's boundaries was that further growth of Metro and the surrounding area is inevitable. Therefore, it is seen as preferable that Metro have control over the entire area so that it can plan adequately for orderly growth. Opponents of Metro's expansion agree that co-ordination of planning must be carried out on an inter-regional level but argue that this does not necessitate having one big government. This concern for improved co-ordination if the boundaries are not changed was also reflected in the Metro Toronto and Region Conservation Authority brief, as well as in the report on *The Planning Process In Metropolitan Toronto* prepared for the Commission by John Bousfield Associates and Comay Planning Consultants.

## What about neighbourhood councils?

A number of proponents of both amalgamation and the two-tier system supported the notion of establishing neighbourhood councils. However, how these councils ought to be structured and funded and what powers they should have were not clearly defined.

Ted Culp, whose brief supported amalgamation, saw such councils as a less expensive means of increasing citizen access to local government than maintaining six area municipalities within Metro. He claimed that the citizen reform movement came about because local government is not accessible even at the area municipality level. He suggested that an amalgamated Metro be divided up into a large number of wards, each of which would elect an alderman and a ward council. He went on to say:

"The ward councils would have authority to engage in local full time planning and to partially amend the Official Plan of the amalgamated City as the Plan affected their areas. These councils would hire full time plan-

ners to formulate the plans for each individual community, and for the ward as a whole. The ward council would not engage in most municipal functions but would request that the City Council take appropriate action."

He suggested that other powers could also be delegated to the ward councils from time to time by the City Council.

There were, however, a considerable number of briefs presented which recommended the creation of ward or neighbourhood councils in addition to the two tiers of local government we now have. They include the briefs of Downtown Action, the Annex Ratepayers Association, the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations, Ryerson's Politics Class 016 and the New Democratic Party. Another alternative put forward by the Toronto Chapter of the Ontario Association of Architects was the "Urban Village" concept. It argued that local government should be organized around identifiable communities in the Metropolitan area.

The Ryerson Politics Class suggested that ward councils be elected annually and that they be responsible for local concerns such as sidewalks, laneway upkeep, neighbourhood parks, community centres, arenas, pools and the like. It also suggested that these councils advise on such matters as housing, the location of industry, and health services in their area and that they have access to the bureaucracies of both the area municipalities and Metro for research and administrative assistance.

In its brief the Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations suggested that we should have "official recognition of neighbourhood groups in the political scene, more scope for planners in planning neighbourhoods and the retention of the two-tier system of government, modified to be more responsive to neighbourhoods."

The Annex Ratepayers Association brief suggested that neighbourhood councils be established to plan neighbourhood services.

## Increasing the number of area municipalities

Dr. Blumenfeld's brief was only one of a number which recommended increasing the number of area municipalities in Metropolitan Toronto. Briefs from Nigel Richardson, Dr. George Lute, the Ontario Association of Architects, the Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations and William Roberts also supported this position.

The arguments for increasing the number of area municipalities are essentially the same as those for establishing neighbourhood councils. In short, many people seem to want a unit of local government which is small enough to permit more representation and increased citizen access, and which has enough independence to deal with neighbourhood concerns. None of the briefs submitted attempted to estimate the financial costs of a structure that would encourage more widespread citizen involvement.

## Access and accountability common themes

The two overriding structural issues in briefs presented thus far to the Commission appear to be the perceived lack of accessibility and accountability of local government and the lack of co-ordination among all of those agencies involved in governing Metropolitan Toronto. Many of the submissions specifically mentioned the lack of co-ordination between local



The new Scarborough Civic Centre

Al Snelling

government policies in Metro and those of senior levels of government in areas of major significance such as housing, transportation and planning.

A common theme expressed by citizens was that services should be controlled and delivered at the level closest to the people. At the same time, they recognized that in some areas, a capacity for over-all policy setting and

co-ordination should exist on the broadest possible scale.

Finally, Neil Craig's brief recommended that the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto produce some optional future structures for local government in Metro and permit Metro voters to select the one they favour.

# The Electoral System

The electoral system deals with who is eligible to vote, who is eligible to run for office, what positions are filled by election and how such elections are to be conducted.

Metro Toronto is governed by a host of different bodies, some of which are directly elected by voters and others indirectly elected, and still others appointed by municipal councils and/or the senior levels of government.

Area municipal councils, local boards of education, the Metropolitan Separate School Board and, in most cases, hydro or public utilities commissions are directly elected.

Members of Metro Council and the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education are indirectly elected in that all are elected directly to the local councils and boards of education in their respective municipalities, and go to Metro either by direct election or positions they hold on their respective boards or because they are selected by

their fellow councillors or trustees.

Metro Council, the area municipality councils and the school boards are responsible for many of the appointments to boards and commissions in Metro which exercise such powers as licensing or provide such services as public transportation and public libraries.

Each of the area municipal councils includes a mayor elected at large and councillors elected by wards. Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough and York have boards of control made up of the mayor and controllers elected at large.

Provisions governing these locally-elected offices are set out in provincial legislation which applies to all municipalities throughout Ontario. However, because of different provisions for cities and boroughs, and because of a certain measure of discretion allowed by the legislation, there are variations in the structure of elective

offices in Metro's area municipalities. In some cases, these variations are designed to facilitate choosing the municipality's representatives on Metro Council, but others simply reflect local tradition and preferences.

The executive function—the job of carrying out council policy and supervising the municipal administration—is fulfilled in various ways: by the whole council in East York, by an executive committee of council in Toronto, and by a board of control in the other four municipalities. In every case, the mayor is the chief executive officer. The executive committee or board of control, if one exists, also has statutory powers in the executive area. Separate elections for executive positions are unique to the local level of government in Canada and are not found at the provincial or federal levels. Instead of assigning all legislative and executive authority to the council as a whole and having the

council choose its executive, Ontario local government is permitted the American tradition of formally separating these functions through the area-wide election of mayors and controllers. It is worth noting that in legislation establishing the new regional municipalities in Ontario, provision for boards of control has seldom been made.

According to a background report on Metro's electoral system prepared for the Commission by Tom Plunkett, the position of mayor seems to have become a permanent feature of Canadian municipal government, while the board of control system has come under severe criticism on the grounds that it contributes to disharmony within the council. The argument is that a board of control creates a separate power base from which controllers can challenge the mayor, and establishes a body independent of the aldermen yet charged with executing policies established by the council as a whole. Pro-



ponents of the board of control system say the broader electoral base of controllers reduces parochialism in decision-making.

Metro Council exercises the same powers as an area council, but its jurisdiction is over specific Metro functions as set out in *The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act*. Its members are not directly elected by the voters. Instead, each area municipality sends a certain number of its members to sit on Metro Council, with the exact size of each delegation based mainly on population and designated in the *Act*.

Like Toronto City Council, Metro Council's executive responsibilities are carried out by an executive committee of council. However, the composition of this committee is not decided by the council as a whole but is established by *The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act*. This provision ensures that each area municipality is represented on the executive committee and that representation is roughly proportional to population.

Commentary on the electoral system received during the spring hearings largely dealt with the office of the Metro Chairman, Metro Council and special purpose bodies at both the Metro and area municipality levels.



Metro Council in session

## The Office of the Metro Chairman

The Chief Executive Officer of Metro, the Metro Chairman, holds a unique position in that he or she is elected by Metro Council itself.

The selection and the role of the Metro Chairman has elicited more comment to date than any other aspect of Metro's electoral system. More than 15 of the briefs submitted to the Commission call for some form of election of the Chairman by the public. Many citizens feel that given the amount of influence the Metro Chairman has as the only full-time Metro politician, the office is not sufficiently accountable to the public. The brief presented by the Toronto Island Residents Association claimed that we are leaving ourselves open to the unscrupulous and the corrupt by assigning so much power to one position without having more control over the actions of its incumbent.

The Toronto Island group also questioned the reasoning behind giving the Metro Chairman a vote on all of the standing committees of council.

Many of the briefs commented on what was considered the excessive power of the Metro Chairman and claimed that the real problem with the Chairman lies in the nature of the Metro system. In summary, they argue that the Metro Chairman is the only full-time political figure at Metro; has no constituents to serve; does not have to worry about getting re-elected in the community; has a highly paid personal staff and has day-to-day access to the civic bureaucracy. The Chairman therefore can devote all of his time to Metro issues and, as a result, is the best informed councillor at Metro. On the other hand, other Metro councillors must serve their constituents and attend local council and committee meetings as well as carry out their Metro duties.

A number of citizens claim that this situation gives the Metro Chairman a strong advantage over other members of Metro Council with respect to gathering information about and securing support for the programs he or she prefers.

While more than 15 briefs presented during the spring hearings expressed dissatisfaction with the present system of selecting the Metro Chairman, on the grounds that it is undemocratic, few supported the notion of a Metro-wide election for the position. Their views are perhaps best summed up in a brief submitted by the New Democratic Party:

"Direct election of a Metro Chairman would cost too much and create a powerful political base for amalgamation which we cannot accept. We believe that, consistent with Canada's British parliamentary tradition, the Chairman should be a locally elected official, stand for office every two years and should continue his duties at the area municipal level. Running for regular election would help make the Chairman more responsive to the electorate and could also lead in time, to the development of caucuses on Metro Council committed to a candidate for chairman and to a particular program. That too would

make the Chairman more accountable."

Those supporting the Metro-wide election of the Chairman generally favour ceilings on election expenses. In fact, the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto suggested that, within prescribed limits, all candidates for Chairman polling more than a certain percentage of the vote be reimbursed for their costs from the public purse. James Mills in his brief suggested that this system apply to all candidates for public office in Metro.

Kenneth Robinson, M.P. for Toronto-Lakeshore, suggested in his brief that the office of the Metro Chairman could be filled by the area muni-

cipality mayors with each holding the office for a one-year term on a rotating basis.

The Association of Women Electors and the Oak-Vaughan Ratepayers Association in York both suggested that the powers of the Metro Chairman be more clearly defined as a means of curbing the Chairman's power. For example, a number of citizens criticized the recent addition of highly-paid specialist staff in the Chairman's office and felt that the tasks being carried out by them should be carried out by regular civil servants or committees of council. This concern was also expressed in a number of briefs with regard to the paid staffs of the mayors of various area municipalities.

## Metro Council

Two who have been involved in public life, former Alderman Jack Bedder of North York and Alderman Leslie Saunders of East York, saw the solution to the problem not so much one of directly electing the Chairman or restricting his or her power in some way but rather directly electing Metro councillors. They agreed that Metro councillors have an unduly heavy workload and that their priorities rest at the area municipality level since they are elected to look after local concerns. They argued, however, that by the direct election to Metro of councillors who have no area municipality responsibilities, Metro Council would be strengthened. In the briefs there is general agreement that a stronger council would counterbalance the power of the Chairman. This contention was supported by the Leaside Property Owners Association, Wesley Corner, James Mills, the Kingsway Ratepayers Association, Ted Culp, Downtown Action and the Toronto Island Residents Association. The Leaside Property Owners suggested that directly elected Metro councillors be required to monitor the council meetings of their respective municipalities. There appeared to be no consensus as to whether Metro councillors should have to represent an area municipality viewpoint or should vote as individuals.

Mr. Bedder suggested that, if directly elected, the size of Metro Council could be reduced considerably.

The briefs submitted by Dr. George Luste, the Parkdale Tenants Association and the Toronto Island





Residents Association also commented on the rapid growth of the civic bureaucracy and questioned its responsiveness. They claimed that this, too, is the result of a Metro Council made weak by virtue of both indirect election and the assignment of major decision-making responsibilities to special purpose bodies.

Since its inception, Metro Council has been increased from 24 to 37 members plus the Chairman. Since 1951, the population of the outer three boroughs has grown from 200,000 to more than 1,100,000 while the population of the inner three municipalities has increased only marginally. The changes in the size and relative representation of the municipalities on Metro Council reflect both the growth and change in the distribution of Metro's population. While the City once had a majority position on Metro Council, the situation is now virtually reversed with the outer three municipalities largely controlling Council. This situation is giving rise to some problems since the needs and priorities of the City and two inner boroughs are often not shared by the outer three boroughs.

While one or two individuals have suggested some kind of special status for the City of Toronto in view of its unique role both in Metro and regionally, to date no concrete suggestions as to how this might be done have been received.

Frederick Gardiner suggested strip wards which would have a broader mix of population as a way of reducing the power of parochial interests. Several groups such as the Oak-Vaughan Ratepayers Association and the Etobicoke Teachers Federation suggested that problems might be solved by equalizing the size and assessment of the area municipalities. Others such as William Sutton suggested boundary changes to do away with inefficiencies and bring natural communities together. Edmund Peachey suggested dividing Metro into three regions — east, central and west. All of these submissions recognized the divisive split that exists at Metro Council and sought ways of alleviating or eliminating it.

## Boards of Education

Area boards of education are directly elected by voters according to the ward system for council elections. Unlike municipal councils, however, area boards choose their chairmen from among their own members. The membership of the Metro Toronto School Board is made up of delegates chosen by these local boards and the Metropolitan Separate School Board and includes all local chairmen. The Metro Separate School Board, however, is directly elected by separate school supporters on the basis of special wards throughout the metropolitan community. It is the only body directly elected on a Metro-wide basis and is constituted in this way because it is the only board of education governing Catholic schools. Unlike the Metro board of education, it has no local counterparts.

There has been some support for making boards of education responsible to local councils. A few people hold the more radical view that boards of education should be done away with altogether. Robert Spencer, a Toronto Board trustee, supports the present electoral system for education but claims that by electing trustees for only a two-year period, priorities are being shifted on an annual basis. He claims the term of office should be extended to at least three years if we are to have meaningful planning in education.

## Public Utilities Commissions

In four municipalities, voters elect at large two members of a hydro or public utilities commission in an election held at the same time as council and school board elections. In these municipalities, the mayor is also a member of the hydro commission, bringing its total size to three. The City of Toronto has a three person commission but its members, apart from the mayor, are appointed by the council and by Ontario Hydro. In the Borough of York, hydro services are provided through a regular department of the municipal administration.

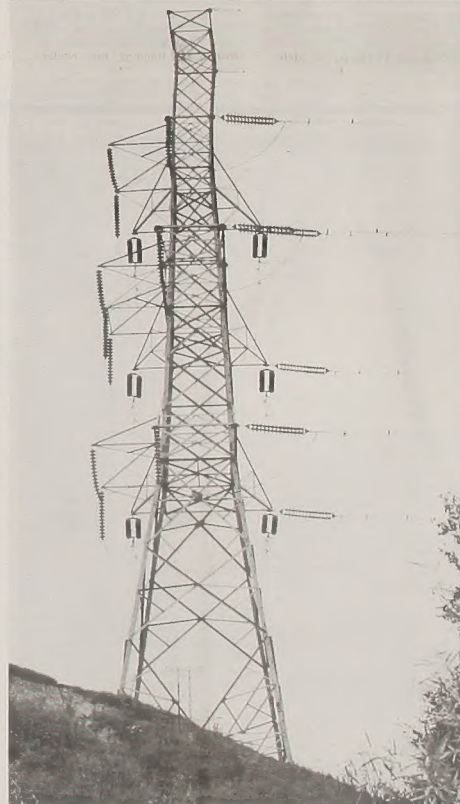
## Non-elected Special Purpose Bodies

Apart from these elected bodies, there are a great many local and Metro boards and commissions whose members are appointed by area councils, area boards of education, Metro council and the Metro school boards. These boards and commissions exercise many important functions in local government, and it has often been argued that they fragment local decision-making and complicate the coordination of local policies and programs. Some citizens, like Edmund Fowler for example, claim that the number of boards and the variety of services they provide make it difficult for citizens to keep track of them and to assign responsibility for successes or failures to the appropriate body.

## Representation

Because the main goal of the electoral system is to provide the mechanisms through which citizens choose representatives to govern on their behalf, the issue of representation is of major concern. According to the Plunkett report, it contains two elements: firstly the idea of equal representation, which involves the principles that all votes should carry equal weight, and that all citizens should have equal access to their elected representatives; and secondly, the degree to which they are representative, which is based on the concept that elected bodies should represent the many different elements in the community.

To achieve equal representation, the usual practice is to ensure that equal population groups have the same number of representatives. In area councils, this means that wards should contain roughly equal populations. When the Ontario Municipal Board draws up the ward boundaries, equality of population is the principle it applies. However, as the Plunkett report points out, there are various other concerns that must be taken into account. One is the fact that different areas have different growth potential; if ward sizes are not soon to become unequal, the boundaries must be drawn with future growth in mind. Another consideration is to keep communities of interest intact so that their voting strength is not dispersed among various wards. This is particularly important when neighbourhoods face redevelopment, when ethnic communities have special needs and interests, and when small municipalities are being amalgamated or absorbed by larger ones. In all these cases, according to the Plunkett report, the community of interest should be maintained as a voting unit or within a single voting unit, so that its collective voice can be heard. Frederick Gardiner disagreed strongly with this notion in his brief to the Commission.





The same sort of concern applies to the Metro level of government, in the view of Mr. Plunkett. The basic principle is that representation should be based on population. However, the fact that Metro councillors are chosen from local councils, rather than by direct election, means that representation is based on population within the context of existing area municipal units. The allocation of representatives to Metro Council must ensure that all municipalities retain a basic delegation to Metro so that they, as communities, are adequately represented. There is also no mechanism which recognizes the special needs and problems in the central city. Thus, when representation is being redistributed because of changing population within Metro, the fact that some municipalities are much smaller than others makes strict representation by population extremely difficult to achieve unless the Metro Council becomes very large.

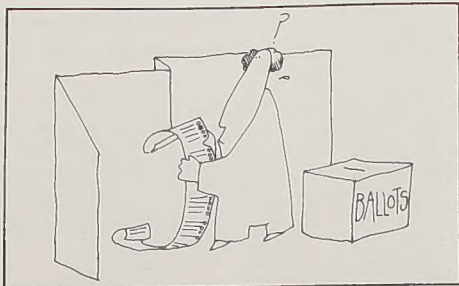
Plunkett also points out that another issue results from the fact that all Metro councillors sit on local councils and must combine the two sets of responsibilities. Because local responsibilities differ from one municipality to the next, the time available for Metro duties will also vary. This imbalance will affect the presumed equality of representation (based on population) among the Metro councillors.

The issue of representation raises the question of how well the electoral system can provide for a range of candidates that reflects the range of occupations, incomes, ethnic backgrounds, and other characteristics of the community. Although the voters will make the final decision about the composition of the council, it is important to ensure that they can choose from a full range of potential candidates. According to the Plunkett report, the legal qualifications for candidacy do permit this, but there are political, social and personal restrictions which deter some people from running for

office. Among the most important are issues of job security, skills and training, and the costs of running for public office. Not all those legally entitled to run for office can afford to do so, either in simple financial terms or in terms of their future job security. Many people cannot leave their jobs to serve on council because of the difficulty they would have returning to their private occupations afterwards. According to Plunkett, this consideration tends to introduce an occupational bias to municipal councils, in favour of those who can maintain some connection with their private jobs while in office or return to them easily when their term is up.

Even among those who are able to consider serving in municipal government, the questions of workload and pay will affect their decision to run. Although the workload is not uniform for all local offices and accurate estimates are difficult to obtain, it is reasonable to assume that some potential candidates disqualify themselves because they cannot keep up with their private responsibilities and do an adequate job in public office. Similarly, some citizens may be prevented from running for office because the remuneration is not sufficient to compensate them for the work they do and for the opportunities they forego or the future job costs they incur. Plunkett notes that these factors will all affect how well the range of candidates reflects the range of interests within the community. To the extent that they introduce a bias in favour of one group and against another, they undermine the municipal council's potential to be fully representative of the community.

The thesis of the brief of Alderman Ray Ireland of East York was that governing is a full time job and councillors should be paid accordingly. Frederick Gardiner, on the other hand, was strongly in favour of having elected representatives who have some other paid employment as well.



## The voter's choice

From the point of view of the voter, Plunkett says the municipal electoral system presents a difficult and unwieldy collection of choices. In every municipal election in Metro, the voter is entitled to make between 5 and 11 voting judgements. To do so, the voter must inform himself about a wide range of issues and candidates. Local government in Ontario is not run on the basis of party politics or any other organizing principle that as the voter in identifying who the candidates are and where they stand on certain issues, and yet it offers the voter far more voting decisions than federal or provincial elections. In the face of this bewildering array of candidates and positions, many eligible voters do not vote at all or do not cast all the votes to which they are entitled. Kenneth Mucha, in his brief, suggested that we should only vote for one person at the municipal level just as we do for the two senior levels of government.

The confusion of municipal elections may account in part for the low

voter turnout at local elections. However, it has also been argued that only 30 per cent of the electors bother to vote because most are not interested in what local government does or because they feel that there are no genuine policy decisions to be made. To some degree, voter interest (and hence turnout) will reflect the extent to which the municipality is faced with difficult decisions on matters within its jurisdiction. For example, local government has considerable responsibility for zoning and land use, and for local services such as schools and fire fighting. Thus, in municipalities where key decisions are being made on these issues, interest in local politics is likely to be greater. Even in 1972, however, when there were many controversial issues in the City of Toronto, voter turnout was only 42 per cent.

Another factor frequently identified in briefs to the Commission as affecting voting turnout was bad December weather. Many people suggested changing the election date to a better time of year. A few others mentioned the short hours which polls are open and the lack of advance polls except at municipal buildings.



## Finance

One of the most critical issues facing the Commission is the financing of local government in Metropolitan Toronto. Municipal revenues from taxes on real property are not keeping pace with municipal expenditure requirements, and the gap between them is widening.

In recent years, Metro's area municipalities have avoided substantially increasing their mill rates only because of increased grants from the province. There appears, however, to be some question as to the ability of the province to continue increasing its grants at the rate at which the expenditures of local government in Metro are increasing. The imposition of expenditure ceilings on boards of education is one indication of provincial belt-tightening.

A number of groups, such as the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and Downtown Action, expressed a concern in their briefs to the Commission that increasing provincial grants to local government in Metro will further erode municipal autonomy.

To examine and evaluate municipal financing, the Commission must consider the present sources of revenue for municipalities, what potential there is for increasing revenue from these sources and what other possible sources of revenue exist. Some of the basic data required for this analysis is contained in *The Financial Structure of Metropolitan Toronto* published by the Metro Planning Department and in *A Financial Profile of Metropolitan Toronto and its Component Municipalities 1967-1973*, one of the background studies prepared for the Royal Com-

mission by the firm of Jarrett, Gould and Elliott.

In addition it is important to examine municipal expenditures to determine whether or not finances are being handled efficiently or whether costs might be cut in some areas. It is necessary to note where the largest increases in expenditures are taking place, explore the reasons for these increases and attempt to determine whether they can be justified.

Finally, there is the question as to whether all of the services and programs currently financed at the municipal level should be the responsibility of local government. More fundamentally, the question is whether the balance of revenues and responsibilities in the Canadian federation as a whole is appropriate.

## Revenues

Historically, the real property tax has been the major source of revenue for municipalities and the role of municipal government has been to provide "services to property", such as roads, sewers, water supply, fire and police protection.

Now that most of the physical services are in place, local governments within Metro have moved more and more into the provision of services to people, such as transit, education, social welfare, and recreation. These services have resulted in greatly increased local government expenditures.

Education costs, for example, represented more than a third of the total expenditures of local government in Metropolitan Toronto in 1973. More



than half of the property taxes collected went to finance education, with the remainder provided primarily by provincial grants.

Assessment growth (the basis for property taxation) has not kept pace with these expenditures.

From 1968 to 1973, property tax revenues expressed as a percentage of total municipal revenues fell from 68 per cent to 58 per cent. The gap was made up mainly by massive increases in provincial conditional and unconditional grants to municipalities.

Briefs from a number of groups such as the Oak-Vaughan Ratepayers in York, the Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations and the Communist Party suggested that education should not be financed from the property tax. They argued that education benefits the whole community and should be paid for out of income taxes. They suggested that the financing of education should be an entirely provincial responsibility. However, they supported the notion that municipalities should still have some autonomy in this field.

The Collegiate Community Ratepayers of East York argued that social services should also be financed from a growth tax rather than the property tax for the same reasons.

Many of those who appeared before the Commission claimed that the property tax is being used to support services that it was never intended to support.

There appears to be considerable agreement that the property tax should only be used to pay for services to property and property owners. Undue reliance on the property tax, in the view of groups such as the Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations and the Parkdale Tenants Association, has resulted in planning to maximize assessment rather than planning for people, and in misguided political decision-making at the local level. By this they mean that municipalities attempt through planning to increase assessment and minimize costs rather than to develop the best community for their residents.

Norman Caudet also pointed out in his brief that because of the reliance on the property tax to pay for a large share of Metro's services, those living outside Metro who work here and utilize Metro's services extensively, pay virtually nothing for these benefits.

Without new development or redevelopment, we cannot increase the assessment base within Metro, except as increased property values are reflected in increased assessment. Since there is limited land left for development and most of it will be in use in 1980, new development offers few opportunities. In any event, planning to increase assessment has been strongly criticized. It is also questionable whether Metro residents would permit redevelopment at a rate which would generate sufficient additional revenues to cover rising costs. We have already witnessed considerable resistance to redevelopment in Metro's older municipalities.

In their briefs to the Commission, the North Jarvis Community Association, Dr. Barry Zimmerman, Dr. George Luste and the South Rosedale Ratepayers Association stressed the importance of preserving established residential neighbourhoods close to highly developed commercial areas, both because they are desirable places to live and because a relatively stable residential population helps to keep central areas free from crime and deterioration. This is a viewpoint long supported by the well known urban commentator Jane Jacobs, formerly of New York City, who now resides in Toronto. Even if Metro's boundaries were expanded, it is likely that the resulting increase in assessment would be more than offset by increased servicing costs.

Metro actually has a relatively good balance between residential (57.2 per cent) and commercial and

industrial assessment (42.8 per cent). However, the relative value of exempt properties (owned by various governments and other institutions) has increased substantially, thereby increasing the tax burden on industry and homeowners. In 1973, exempt properties represented 19.4 per cent of total assessment value. Governments pay grants in lieu of taxes for some but not all of these properties.

Of all municipal property taxes collected in Metro Toronto in 1973, 73.1 per cent went to the Metro level (including the education levy). Therefore, any move by an area municipality to increase its tax revenues would only result in a marginal gain for that municipality. In the future, this factor might well decrease the pressure on area municipalities to plan for assessment and encourage them to look to other sources of revenue.

Figure III

Property Tax Dollar 1973		
Metropolitan Lev 73.1%	General Local Lev 24.1%	Other Local Lev 2.8%
and the		

Reassessing properties in Metro or increasing the mill rate would generate increased revenues. However, both of these actions require knowledge of the ability of the property owner to pay the increases.

The provincial government is currently reassessing all properties in Ontario on the basis of market value. From the experience of other cities, it has been observed that market value assessment increases the share of taxes borne by homeowners and reduces the tax burden on commercial and industrial sectors unless compensating measures are taken. This is particularly troublesome for older property owners who may own their homes but are living on fixed incomes and pensions. A further problem is the generally low level of assessment for properties in the central part of the City of Toronto. Market value assessment could force many low income families out of their homes in the central area. While the provincial and municipal tax credit and rebate systems for the elderly and those with low incomes attempt to address these problems, greatly increased property taxes could present serious problems for these groups.

On the other hand there are many high income people who own no property at all. Although this group would undoubtedly pay higher rents, they would still be able to choose the type and location of housing they wish.

If we look at the costs of policing, for example, expenditures rose 78 per cent from approximately \$43,000,000 in 1969 to \$76,700,000 in 1973 and are continuing to rise. It is obvious that homeowners and businessmen cannot sustain comparable increases in property taxes. However, the potential for improvement in the performance and equity of the property tax has not perhaps been adequately explored.

The brief of the School of Economic Science tackled this question. They argued that site value taxation would result in increased revenues and more efficient utilization of land. Site value taxation is a system whereby land is taxed according to its potential use rather than its actual use. For example, surface parking lots in the downtown area would be taxed at a rate which would discourage this kind of land use. While such a system would undoubtedly increase taxes on many properties in Metro, it could ultimately result in the destruction of low density residential neighbourhoods in any area with commercial or industrial potential. Groups such as the South Rosedale Ratepayers Association warned the Commission against this eventuality if

taxes on downtown neighbourhoods reflect their proximity to commercial areas.

Jack Bedder in his brief suggested that commercial tax rates apply only to vacant land zoned for residential purposes. He also suggested that areas zoned for special redevelopment be assessed according to their maximum potential. In his view, the property tax should only be used to pay for direct services to property.

The brief from the Communist Party of Canada pointed out that the property tax places the greatest burden on the homeowner since incorporated businesses can deduct their taxes as a legitimate business expense in filing corporate income tax returns.

Monies from licensing, fines, concessions and the like constitute less than 4 per cent of Metro's revenues. Therefore any increases in these fields

priorities. They also argued that municipal grants be based on need rather than population. Such a system would, of course, involve developing a set of criteria for determining need. Briefs supporting this viewpoint came from the Parkdale Tenants Association, Downtown Action (a non-profit, community research corporation), and the Communist Party of Canada.

A number of those who submitted briefs to the Commission suggested that Metro municipalities be given access to growth taxes such as income tax and/or sales tax. Included in their numbers were the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations, Henry Fliess, the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, the Collegiate Community Ratepayers Association of East York, Thorncliffe Park Community Organization and Ryerson's Politics Classes 015 and 016.

It is interesting to note that few of those who submitted briefs to the Commission supported the notion that Metro levy its own income or sales taxes. Some argued that those residing outside of Metro could not be adequately taxed by Metro for the use of its services. Others pointed to the lack of administrative machinery at the municipal level to launch such a scheme and questioned adding another bureaucracy to carry it out. Most preferred an arrangement whereby Metro would be guaranteed a few percentage points of the income or sales taxes collected by the senior levels of government.

Finally, it was also pointed out that many provincial grants now go directly to special purpose bodies such as boards of education and boards of health. To quote from a paper prepared in the Metro Chairman's office in August, 1975 entitled *The Reform of Taxation and Government Structure in Ontario*:

"The question that must be asked therefore is whether a multiplicity of municipal structures hampers the possibility for financial reform."

The answer depends on whether the province is prepared to recognize the potential for the delegation of responsibility and tax resources to regions that have the administrative capacity and political maturity to provide a far wider range of services than are now accepted as municipal functions."





## Expenditures

As was pointed out in the Metro-plan publication *The Financial Structure of Metropolitan Toronto*.

"The phenomenal increase in government expenditures relative to the private sector is primarily a result of changing attitudes towards the role of government as a provider of services, augmented by a tax system that has generated revenues to the senior levels of government without

requiring an increase in the level of taxation. The "growth taxes", primarily income and sales taxes, have given the senior levels of government sufficient additional revenues to develop new and expanded government services. To the extent that these revenues were passed down to local government, local government has also extended the range and quality of its services".

The report goes on to say:

"Given the increasing demand for government services of all kinds, and the pressures for government intervention in the private sector, the long-term trend towards the expansion of government spending in the economy can only continue."

The question appears to be more

one of which level of government should provide various services rather than whether or not we should have them. The briefs received by the Commission to date have suggested areas in which local government should get more involved, such as housing, but none has suggested discontinuing any program or service which represents a significant portion of local government expenditure

**Figure IV**

### Where the Money Went (1973)

At the Metro Level	Amount	Percentage of Total
General Government	\$ 6,711,000	1.11
Protection to Persons and Property	79,478,000	13.10
Transportation Services	79,244,000	13.07
Environmental Services	29,981,000	4.94
Conservation of Health	4,310,000	.71
Social and Family Services	80,733,000	13.32
Recreation and Community Services	15,528,000	2.57
Community Planning and Development	1,931,000	.32
Financial Expenses	3,847,000	.63
Education	304,601,000	50.23
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$606,344,000</b>	<b>100.00</b>

It is interesting to note the increases from 1968-73 in:			
	1968	1973	Percentage Increase
Protection of persons and property	\$39,480,000	-	\$79,478,000 101.3
Transportation services	28,650,000	-	79,244,000 176.6
Social and family services	41,887,000	-	80,733,000 92.7
Community planning and development	992,000	-	1,931,000 94.7

At the Area Municipality Level (Exclusive of the Amount Contributed to Metro)												
	Toronto	%	East York	%	Ethiobicoke	%	Scarborough	%	York	%	North York	%
General Government	\$ 16,251,000	14.8	1,117,000	12.0	3,158,000	8.5	4,491,000	11.1	1,708,000	10.6	3,153,000	5.8
Protection of Persons and Property	26,006,000	23.7	2,505,000	26.9	6,794,000	18.4	7,150,000	17.7	3,656,000	22.7	9,941,000	18.4
Public Works	22,615,000	20.6	1,315,000	14.1	8,469,000	22.9	8,301,000	20.6	2,861,000	17.8	14,936,000	27.6
Sanitation	9,659,000	8.8	1,114,000	11.9	4,078,000	11.1	6,547,000	16.3	1,899,000	11.8	5,317,000	9.8
Health, Social and Family Services	7,369,000	6.7	399,000	4.3	2,424,000	6.6	1,549,000	3.8	1,403,000	8.7	3,636,000	7.1
Recreation and Community Services	21,000,000	19.2	2,269,000	24.3	9,886,000	26.8	8,242,000	20.5	3,572,000	22.2	13,375,000	24.8
Community Planning	4,691,000	4.3	122,000	1.3	474,000	1.3	798,000	2.0	251,000	1.6	595,000	1.1
Financial and Other	2,084,000	1.9	482,000	5.2	1,617,000	4.4	3,325,000	8.0	736,000	4.6	2,922,000	5.4
Total	\$109,675,000	100%	9,323,000	100%	36,900,000	100%	40,303,000	100%	16,086,000	100%	54,075,000	100%

## Total expenditures all municipalities 1973

The total amount spent by area municipalities in 1973 exclusive of their contributions to Metro was \$266,362,000. The largest increases from 1968 to 1973 at this level were for protection, recreation and community services and community planning.

**Total expenditures by Metro .....** **\$606,344,000**

**Total expenditures of Area Municipalities** **266,362,000**

**Total Spent by Local Government in Metro in 1973 .....** **\$872,706,000**

Now that 1974 audited financial statements, as well as 1975 estimates are available, the Commission plans to have its financial profile of Metro updated. The rate of increase in expenditures in 1974 is even more dramatic.

It is clear that municipal government in Metro must either curtail its expenditures or increase its revenues.

Numerous articles have appeared in newspapers and magazines about

the financial plight of major cities all over the world. While Metro is better off relative to many of them, the trends are there and, as Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey has noted, without some significant change in the system of financing it, Metro may face a serious financial situation in the not too distant future.

A few groups suggested that full responsibility for the financing of education and social services be transferred to the province to reduce the tax burden on municipalities. (In 1973, provincial grants covered approximately 52 per cent of the cost of social services and 39 per cent of the cost of education in Metro Toronto.) However, most of these groups supported the notion of keeping service delivery in such areas at the local level and, in most cases, at the area municipality level. Such an arrangement would, of course give rise to some questions with regard to the principle that the level of government that spends the money should be responsible for raising it.

Several groups and individuals commented on the lack of control over municipal spending. The Toronto Island Residents Association cited an example in their brief regarding the Metro Parks Department, "whose budget for the next five years contains 2.5

million dollars for unspecified development of Toronto Island and yet the Parks Commissioner recently stated under oath before a judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario that he had no plans for the island." The Collegiate Community Ratepayers of East York suggested that "some principles of cost control be devised and imposed on Metro Council."

Some of the groups and individuals who commented on the undesirable effects of the growth of bureaucracies in general also commented on the size of municipal staffs and the costs of maintaining them. The most important aspect of these costs is wages. The more we expand services such as public transit and policing, the greater the share of municipal expenditure that will go to salaries and wages. There are some areas of local government where the number of employees has grown by 200-300 per cent over the last decade. The presence of strong public service associations and unions has also resulted in relatively higher incomes for public servants than was the case 10 to 15 years ago. Most of these supporting amalgamation felt such a move would bring about a reduction in the size of the bureaucracy. Others have urged that some services be returned to the private

sector. For example, Edmund Peachey suggested in his brief that a "turn-around trend should be fostered to limit or reduce non-essential services and make efforts to return the citizenry to self reliance."

A point that was made by the Annex Ratepayers in their brief was that the public would like a clear statement of who is spending what, and where, in the public sector. In their view, transfer payments between levels of government serve to cloud the facts. They argued that while conditional grants are appropriate as incentives for municipalities to take on new and difficult responsibilities, they are not a suitable means of financing recognized or essential services.

Another point raised by the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations is that regardless of how we change the structure of local government, a body such as the Ontario Municipal Board is needed to control municipal borrowing. In this connection many people have commented that the costs of servicing Metro's debt at the present time compare very favourably with those of other Canadian municipalities. It is interesting to note that New York's financial crisis seems to have its roots in unrestricted municipal borrowing.



## Population Trends

Today Metropolitan Toronto has a population of approximately 2.2 million. A report on demographic trends prepared for the Commission revealed the following information about present and future population patterns.

At the time of the 1971 census, Metro had 2.09 million people or slightly less than 1/10 of Canada's population. This population represented three quarters of the people living in the Central Ontario Lakeshore Urban Complex (COLUC), a planning area which includes Metro and parts of the Regional Municipality of Peel, York, Durham, Halton and Hamilton-Wentworth (see Figure V).

Since 1951, Metro's population has grown 1 1/2 times the rate of that of the country. Very little of this growth has been in the inner three municipalities but the population of the suburbs (Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough) has mushroomed from 200,000 to 1,100,000.

Probably because Metro is a major regional and national commercial centre which attracts those seeking employment, it has a lower proportion of people in non-working age groups than the national average.

The City of Toronto has a high proportion of office employment relative to other parts of Metro. Retailing jobs are fairly evenly distributed across Metro and well over half the jobs in manufacturing and wholesaling are in the suburbs. However the suburbs offer fewer opportunities for white collar employment.

While Metro has a higher birth-rate than either Ontario or Canada, undoubtedly because of its age structure, most of its population increase over the last few decades has been due to migration, the largest portion of which has been international.

Metro has been receiving approximately 30 per cent of all immigrants to Canada. It has also gained population from other parts of the province and the country. Metro residents who do leave tend to move to the surrounding regional municipalities as more and more migrants move in. People also migrate from Metro to Alberta and British Columbia. On the other hand, Metro gains people from the Atlantic provinces, the prairies and, more recently, Quebec. About three-quarters of all interprovincial migrants to COLUC and over four-fifths of immigrants to COLUC come to Metro.



## Where immigrants settle

Where immigrants settle in Canada tends to be related to their country of origin. Americans and Northern Europeans tend to be more dispersed in settlement patterns while immigrants from Southern Europe, Asia and the Caribbean congregate in the larger cities.

Immigrants also tend to settle in areas of high labour demand and low unemployment.

Therefore a shift in the immigrant stream away from Asia, the Caribbean and Southern Europe or a decline in Metro's economic position relative to other parts of Canada would probably result in a significant decline in the number of immigrants settling here.

Over the last few years, growth has been declining in Metro, primarily as a result of a decreasing supply of land and affordable housing. As a consequence, migration has been declining as a component of Metro's growth. By the mid-1980's, natural increase (births) is expected to be the more important determinant of population growth.

## The future size of Metro

Estimates as to the future size of Metro vary enormously and there are many factors which will affect its ultimate size. For example, the growth philosophies of those responsible for planning in the area will have a major

impact. The official plans of both Metro and the surrounding regions may encourage or discourage further growth.

Metro is surrounded by rich farmland and policies designed to keep this land for agricultural use would significantly reduce the potential of increasing urban sprawl beyond Metro's borders. On the other hand, the containment of sprawl is in part contributing to the shortage of housing. However, with the rapid increase in food prices over the last two years, there appears to be growing support for the preservation of agricultural land. This point was stressed in the briefs from Zero Population Growth, the Association of Women Electors and George Bechtel.

It would also appear that proponents of "no-growth" or "slow-growth" for the Metro area represent a significant body of opinion in the community. The Collegiate Community Ratepayers of East York claimed in their brief that as population densities increase, cities change from relatively law-abiding communities to ones with a high incidence of crime and no sense of community responsibility. In their briefs, groups such as the North Jarvis Community Association, the Toronto Island Residents Association and the South Rosedale Ratepayers Association argued for the preservation of low density family neighbourhoods throughout Metro.

They were supported by Dr. Barry Zimmerman and Dr. George Luste who feel that a stable residential population helps to prevent the deterioration of an urban area.

Both Zero Population Growth and the Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations claimed that people should be able to set population goals for their cities and establish land use policies consistent with these goals.

While policies of decentralization for the Toronto Centred Region have been developed by the province, whether these policies will be successful is not yet known. To quote from the report, *Demographic Trends in Metropolitan Toronto*, prepared for the Commission by N. Cherukupalle Inc.:

"The efforts to decentralize central Ontario's growth eastward towards Oshawa and Pickering is probably the most important (policy) of them all. Major growth nodes in the Durham region will centre around the Pickering Airport and the North Pickering community, a location that might not be far enough east for independent growth. Unless a concerted effort is made to strengthen Oshawa as a node, provincial planning efforts to decentralize and channel growth eastward might turn out, on the contrary, to be the single most centralizing force, particularly if reinforced by improved transportation links with the new Pickering Airport."

On the other hand, the recent cancellation of the Pickering Airport by the federal government could have even more serious consequences for Metro since it will diminish the potential for new jobs in that area, which could strengthen its dependence on Metro for employment.

Some of those who submitted briefs to the Commission argued that we should encourage growth. For example William Magyar of Technical Economists Ltd., suggested that the ideal population for the Metro area would be around 10 million. Still others argued that a moderate degree of growth is inevitable and that we should be looking for ways to manage and distribute it.

Other factors which will affect Metro's rate of growth include immigration policies, policies affecting neighbourhood stability or redevelopment, the amount of development allowed immediately outside Metro's boundaries, or a major change in the birth rate. The biggest factor of all may be what happens with respect to energy. Metropolitan Toronto is heavily dependent on cheap and plentiful energy. A severe energy shortage or soaring energy costs could greatly alter Metro's capacity for continued growth.

Because of the complexity inherent in factors affecting demographic trends, it is clear that the best we can hope for is a reasonable guess as to the future size of Metro. Therefore the system of local government we have must be sufficiently flexible to accommodate very different possible futures.

Figure V — COLUC Area





# Planning

From the research prepared for the Commission, and from briefs presented so far, planning has emerged as one of the areas of greatest concern with respect to local government in Metropolitan Toronto. In some ways this is curious, since planning bodies do not provide direct services to the public. But it is this very feature of planning which makes it so controversial. Developing plans for an area involves making assumptions about the kind of neighbourhoods and region in which one should live, and adopting some of these assumptions as goals. In local government in Metropolitan Toronto, our major planning bodies are perhaps the closest thing we have to policy-making units.

## Planning legislation

The main basis for planning in Ontario is *The Planning Act* under which all planning bodies are established and official plans prepared. Since the *Act* does not specify the content or scope of official plans, nor the difference between Metropolitan and local planning functions, they vary widely in content, style and format from one municipality to another.

An official plan traditionally has been a broad plan for the use of land, which is implemented through various control devices such as zoning bylaws, subdivision plans, land severance approvals, urban renewal plans, maintenance and occupancy bylaws and committee of adjustment decisions. There are no procedures laid down in the *Act* with regard to public participation. Where special participation programs exist, they have been developed in response to local pressures. *The Planning Act* is under review by the provincial government and some major changes are expected.

Planning activities are also governed by *The Ontario Planning and Development Act* which authorizes the provincial Treasurer to designate "development planning areas." Public consultation must be carried out under this legislation but only a plan has been developed, the Treasurer may secure the necessary amendments to municipal plans and bylaws to implement it. The Parkway Belt Plans are being developed under the framework of this legislation.

## History of planning in Metro

As documented in the Commission's background report on planning, the history of Metropolitan Toronto's planning process is very significant. When Metro came into being in 1953, the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board was created. Its task was to develop an official plan for the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area which included not only Metro (240 square miles) but also the 13 surrounding fringe municipalities (475 square miles). Metropolitan plans were drawn up in both 1959 and 1966 but neither plan was ever made official. The problem was that Metro had no jurisdiction over the 13 surrounding area municipalities, while they in turn had no representation on Metro Council. As a result, the two plans were adopted by Metro but this jurisdictional problem was never worked out and the plans were not submitted to the Minister responsible for provincial approval. Therefore, these plans, although generally followed in practice, had no official or legal status.

Throughout this period, planning conflicts among Metro area municipalities were not particularly severe. However, the late 1960's brought a significant change in community values. The 1966 Metro Plan, which was generally accepted at the time of its adoption, proved virtually impossible to implement particularly with respect to transportation. Citizens groups organized successfully to oppose the construction of the Spadina expressway and other transportation links proposed in the plan.

The City of Toronto and the Borough of York removed all references to the Spadina expressway from their official plans. Metro did not. However, because the 1968 Metropolitan plan is now under review and major changes are expected both in the nature and the content of the plan, it is anticipated that all changes will be incorporated when the plan review is completed.

The Commission's background report on the planning process notes that area municipalities have begun to recognize the possibility of using their official plans and zoning provisions as a legal basis for preventing or delaying the implementation of policies of senior levels of government. Perhaps the best example relates to the question of public housing for low-income families. The province makes money available for low income housing and has made every attempt to get municipalities to take their share of such units. However, the municipalities are said by many to be using their zoning bylaws to obstruct such projects. As a result since late 1973, not one new public housing unit for low income families has been constructed in Metro.

As the three regional municipalities were established around Metro, each was given responsibility for planning within its boundaries, thereby eliminating Metro's inter-regional planning role. Each of these new regional municipalities is required to prepare an official plan within a prescribed period of time. In addition, some area municipalities within these regions are busy preparing local official plans for their areas.

On January 1, 1975, the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board was replaced by a planning department and a planning committee of Metro Council. Through the Metroplan program, this planning body is continuing with the preparation of a new official plan for Metro as required by revisions to *The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act*. When this plan is completed and approved by the province, Metro's area municipality official plans and other planning bylaws will have to conform to it.

Metro's new official plan will be more than a traditional land-use plan. Rather than simply setting down specific transportation facilities and land uses, it will address itself to targets and strategies for structuring or managing growth, and the appropriate level and distribution of housing jobs and support services. In addition to defining patterns of centralization and/or decentralization of population and employment, it will set out social objectives and deal with an array of other concerns. Metroplan is looking at all aspects of the kind of Metropolitan area we want to have or, in other words, the urban structure and form.

Metro Toronto has recently received the responsibility from the Minister of Housing to review the decision of area municipality committees of adjustment and land division committees and is in the process of acquiring subdivision approval powers. While Metro can comment on local zoning bylaws, the Ontario Municipal Board is the final arbiter.

With the dissolution of the Metro Planning Board, a citizens' committee was appointed to advise Metro Council on the Metropolitan Plan and assume the major responsibility for Metroplan's public participation program.

Since 1967, Metro's planning staff has grown by about 75 per cent and its planning budget has more than tripled its activities include:

- The formulation of overall Metro planning policies and the production of an official plan;
- Development control activities such as the processing of subdivision plans, commenting on local zoning bylaw amendments and local official plans and amendments primarily to ensure that they do not conflict with important metropolitan concerns;
- Direct planning of various Metro projects.

## Planning at the area municipality level

According to the Bousfield-Conay report, the City of Toronto has taken the lead in Metro in developing a very strong planning presence. Since 1967, it has increased its planning staff by 250 per cent and its annual planning expenditures now amount to approximately \$4 per capita, nearly 2 1/2 times that of the other area municipalities. This increase in staff and expenditures reflects the emphasis being given to neighbourhood and central area planning by the City. The City Planning Board is now primarily composed of private citizens who concern themselves with longer-term official plan matters rather than day to day management of the City's planning program.

The activities of City planning staff are concentrated in the following areas:

- Reassessing policies in the 1969 Official Plan, particularly development policies for the core area;
- formulating detailed plans and programs for the City's waterfront and some 25 neighbourhoods with considerable involvement of the public;
- a review of its main implementing mechanisms including the overall zoning bylaw, site plan and demolition controls.

The City has become more assertive in protecting its interests when matters of metropolitan or regional significance are under consideration.

Both East York and York are largely developed and most of their planning activities focus on stabilization or redevelopment. The Borough of York, for example, recently adopted revised zoning bylaws supporting existing land uses in its official plan.

In both these boroughs, the impact of major transportation improvements, such as the Highway 400 and Spadina arterials or the proposed Leslie Street Extension, are a major concern.

In Etobicoke and North York, official plans have largely been superseded by detailed district plans. However, in Scarborough, the 1957 plan still provides a comprehensive basis for overall development policies and the preparation of detailed secondary plans. Scarborough is the only borough with much undeveloped land. It also has more opportunities for infilling in some of its older areas. However, established patterns of development tend to be prevailing.

In its brief, Ryerson's Politics Class O15 argued for planning on a level basis with Metro regulating the density for all areas. In the same vein, former North York Alderman Jack Beeder also stated in his presentation to the Commission that planning should be done by Metro to ensure an equal and equitable distribution of all types of housing, commercial, industrial construction, along with sufficient green space, open space and recreational facilities to contribute to a balanced road and transportation system.

Outside Metro, the greatest amount of development is taking place in the Regional Municipality of Peel. This growth reflects the historic westerly trend of urban development in the Toronto-Hamilton corridor, and has been supported by provincial services, transportation facilities and current housing policies. Despite provincial initiatives to redirect growth to the east, Peel will continue to fulfill many of the Toronto area's housing needs. The Regional Municipality of Peel and the City of Mississauga are heavily involved in the development of new official plans and the designation of major centres which offer a better balance of employment opportunities for residents.

The imminent completion of the York-Durham servicing system will undoubtedly open up areas for redevelopment to the north and east of Metro. Such development would be supported by current provincial housing schemes. The direction in which the Region of York is moving in its planning is not yet clear, according to the Bousfield-Conay report. However, in addition to providing a significant number of housing and employment opportunities, there is the potential for the extensive use of major recreational facilities in York by Metro residents, and this is the subject of a special study being carried out by the Regional Municipality of York.

The Region of Durham will also attract considerable growth both in south Pickering and Ontario's North Pickering community with the completion of the York-Durham servicing scheme. The revised Pickering Official Plan provides for an additional 90,000 people in south Pickering.

From the background report's examination of the current planning situation in Metro Toronto and the surrounding regions, several facts become very clear.

The scope of Metro's planning activity and the division of planning responsibilities between Metro and area municipalities have never been clearly defined. The same kind of jurisdictional uncertainty now applies to planning in the surrounding regions.

According to the consultants, part of the problem is that local municipalities and citizens generally do not tend to support the primacy of regional planning objectives. In the new regions, as in Metro, it is probable that local rather than regional interests will determine land-use policies.

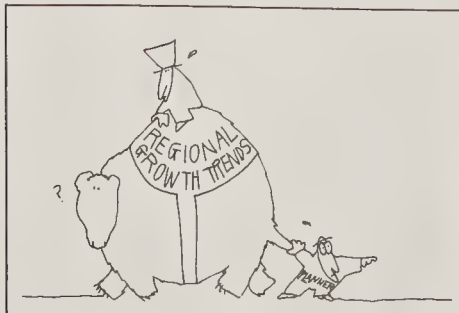
Since many of the implementing powers such as zoning bylaws and urban renewal are vested locally, Metro and other regional governments may have considerable difficulty achieving regional planning goals.

In addition, some concern has been expressed about the degree to which those outside Metro are influencing its planning. For example, how can Metro decentralize if large residential developments are encouraged immediately outside Metro's boundaries and inter-regional transportation services provide ready access to downtown Toronto?

## Who is planning for Metro?

The provincial government is directly involved in Metro area planning primarily through the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, the Ontario Municipal Board, the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, the Ministry of the Environment, Ontario Hydro and the Metro Toronto and Region Conservation Authority. The federal government is involved mainly through the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. A more detailed description of the roles of these various government agencies





in planning is contained in the background report on planning prepared for the Commission by John Bousfield Associates and Comay Planning Consultants Ltd.

Traditionally, the province has been most concerned with the quality of planning at the local level, but given problems such as the current housing shortage in Metro, it is increasingly directing its efforts to achieving its own planning objectives. The most critical problem with regard to provincial planning identified in briefs to the Commission is that there is no consistent set of policies which the province articulates and follows.

Provincial proposals for the development of the Central Ontario Lakeshore Urban Complex, stretching from Oakville to Bowmanville, represent an effort to co-ordinate and rationalize the activities of all agencies and levels of government involved in planning for the area. The *Ontario Planning and Development Act* gives the province the power to alter municipal official plans, if necessary, to make them consistent with approved regional development plans.

The Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) is a quasi-judicial body established to approve municipal borrowing, approve local bylaws, and adjudicate on appeals in planning matters. It is intended to be guided in its decisions by provincial policy, but given the lack of clarity in provincial policy in some fields and the increasingly contentious nature of local planning, the Board is frequently called upon to make policy decisions, an example in its ruling on the City of Toronto's 45 foot height bylaw. For many of the same reasons,

there is also a tendency for more and more of the Ontario Municipal Board's decisions to be appealed to the provincial cabinet.

A number of groups who presented briefs to the Commission were very critical of the OMB's playing a policy-making role and called for a redefinition of its powers. The issue appears to be whether appointed bodies should be able to rule on the decisions of elected bodies. Included among these groups were the New Democratic Party, the Annex Ratepayers Association and the North Jarvis Community Association. The Communist Party suggested abolishing the OMB altogether but this was not a widely expressed view.

While there is now a reasonable degree of co-operation between those involved in planning and development at the local and Metro levels, the planning background report says there are signs that this spirit of co-operation is deteriorating. The development of a comprehensive Metro Official Plan which requires that area municipality plans conform to it will undoubtedly create problems.

To quote from the Bousfield-Comay Report:

"Ultimately it may not matter whether Metro achieves the legal means to enforce conformity in local plans and bylaws, since political support, which is presently locally based, may not be sustainable against local objections."

Of equal concern is the absence of a mechanism for co-ordinating Metro's planning efforts with those of

the three surrounding regional municipalities.

To date, almost every submission to the Commission which has dealt with planning has called for planning on an inter-regional scale coupled with a strengthened role in planning at the area municipality or neighbourhood level. This view was perhaps best summed up in the brief submitted by the New Democratic Party:

"Metro has become too small to plan for the Toronto Urban Region of which it is the hub and too large to provide 'soft' services to its 2.1 million residents in a humane manner and on a human scale."

Similar comments were made by Nigel Richardson, a planner by profession, the Annex Ratepayers Association, the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations; and George Bechtel. The New Democratic Party, the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations and the Annex Ratepayers Association favoured a lesser role in planning for Metro. They supported the notion that area municipalities should do their own planning and, that when and if serious planning conflicts arose, they could be resolved by an appeal body such as the Ontario Municipal Board.

On the other hand, Ryerson's Politics Class OIS, Jack Bedder, the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the Communist Party all suggested that Metro's role in planning be strengthened, a view shared by most of those who favoured amalgamation, as well as by Dr. Hans Blumenfeld, a well-known urban planner. Most in this group argued that the only way we might solve a problem such as a housing shortage is to give Metro the power to set densities throughout the area.

The majority of those who submitted briefs dealing with planning favoured the creation of some kind of inter-regional planning body.

However, there were differences of opinion as to how inter-regional planning should be carried out, what Metro's role in such planning would be and how to resolve regional-local planning conflicts.

The Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations was the most explicit as to how it thought planning ought to be carried out:

"Present-day Metropolitan Toronto is both the economic and cultural nerve centre of the whole country and for this reason has experienced a phenomenal rate of growth over

the last two decades which appears to go unabated. Neither the federal nor the provincial government appears to have attempted to check Metro's growth and it is doubtful whether they ever will. Since for all intents and purposes there is little room for growth at traditional densities within any of the area municipalities, the process of rapid urbanization which has characterized Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough in the last 20 years has spilled over the borders and will continue to do so. Communities as far apart as Grimsby and Bowmanville, Barrie and Guelph are feeling the effects of urbanization. There is an urgent need, then, to provide a wide range of services for the whole of the Toronto region, principal among which are housing, transportation, jobs and recreation. The provincial government has recognized the fact of rapid urbanization in the region and is trying to deal with it through proposals such as the Toronto Centred Region Plan, the Central York Servicing Scheme, the Toronto Area Transit Operating Authority, the GO service, the Ontario Housing Action Program and the new Town of North Pickering."

"In effect what has happened in the last five years is that the provincial Government is doing the planning for the entire Toronto Centred Region and has thereby undermined municipal autonomy to a considerable degree. The federal government has become a second major factor in the region with its decision to build an airport in the North Pickering area. The impact of this decision on Metropolitan Toronto alone (particularly on the City of Toronto) has been well documented in the *Pickering Impact Study*."

"We have two major concerns in this respect, however. Much provincial planning for the Region appears to be contradictory and illogical. On the one hand, the government professes to be committed to a policy of decentralization, and of directing growth to the east of Metro. On the other hand, its heavy investment in commuter rail facilities, the Central York Servicing Scheme, the North Pickering Airport and related new town and the decision to extend the Don Valley Expressway north can only serve to feed the growth of the core area of the City of Toronto."

"Our second concern in this area stems directly from the first: much





of this provincial planning for the Region (indeed for Metropolitan Toronto itself, e.g. the continued widening of the 401, the decision to stop the Spadina Expressway, the recent decisions with respect to improvements to Union Station) are made at the cabinet or at the sub-cabinet levels. At present, there exists no clearly defined, publicly accountable mechanism for regional planning. The municipalities which are most directly affected appear to have little if any opportunity for participation at the policy formation stage. Where there is participation (as in the improvements to the commuter facilities at Union Station), it is conveniently ignored. It is appalling, for instance, that the City of Toronto which is most directly affected by the centralization policies of the Chairman of the Toronto Area Transit Operating Authority has no representation on the Authority. The Metro Chairman is a member, but he has no mandate from the Council of the City of Toronto to represent it; neither is he required to report back to his own Council or to take direction from it.

"Clearly, then, the municipal role in regional planning must be strengthened and the provincial and federal roles must become public, explicit and accountable. In order to achieve these goals, we propose the creation of a Greater Toronto Urban Region to correspond to COLUC (Central Ontario Lakeshore Urban Complex). Within this region, the province and the municipalities should develop a new partnership to set general planning goals for population, job location, housing, transportation and recreation and should determine the framework of both

hard and soft services which will be needed to achieve these goals. These general goals should be generated principally by the municipalities themselves and should be forwarded to the Greater Toronto Urban Region level for comment and co-ordination. To this end, we propose that a new provincial/municipal advisory committee for the Greater Toronto Urban Region be created which would be strictly advisory in nature. It should provide for regular public review and co-ordination on matters such as housing, health care, recreation, transportation, employment, conservation and parkland. None of these matters affects Metropolitan Toronto and the area municipalities alone. In all of them, the province now has major statutory responsibility. But our proposal recognizes the impossibility of planning a number of critically important services within the framework of Metropolitan Toronto alone. Further, it will make explicit and public what now happens largely behind closed doors

"Membership on this Advisory Committee should reflect the relative sizes of the participating municipalities; it should be chaired by the Minister of Treasury, Economic and Intergovernmental Affairs. It may well be advisable to include the members of the Legislature from all parties who represent ridings in the COLUC area. Federal representatives at the ministerial level may also have to be included from time to time, although the size of such a group will have to remain manageable."

Similar proposals were received from the Annex Ratepayers Association and the New Democratic Party.

Another major issue which was raised in briefs to the Commission was the lack of integration between physical and social planning. The kind of concern expressed is perhaps best summarized in a paper given by Allan O'Brien, Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario and the former Mayor of Halifax, at the 1975 Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada:

"Wise municipal governments will become much more conscious of the potential of social planning at the local level. I use the phrase 'social planning' not just to describe the planning of adequate social services of all kinds, their innovation, co-ordination and accessibility, important though these are. I mean also the fundamental basis and processes for determining the goals, objectives and strategy of urban planning and design. For example, if land use is to be subject to public planning, as it must, the objectives should be primarily social. The aim must be to provide the best living conditions for many diverse individuals and families living in the relatively close quarters of urban Canada.

"The risks of social planning are enormous. That is why the process through which it is done deserves careful scrutiny. The people who will be affected must participate in the planning. The pluralism of our society must be respected. So must the need for greater equality in the human condition. The importance of both public and private spaces and places must be attended to. The information systems, including data banks, which serve politicians, administrators, citizens and media will

have to be open and guaranteed to be open.

Local social planning will have to tackle problems arising from family breakdown, alienation from community, destruction of public property and crime. A serious study of these issues might reveal a connection to government and corporate destruction of the environment, gross inequality in power and wealth, consumer materialism and social irresponsibility."

Several other specific points were made with respect to planning in briefs received by the Commission. Clark Muirhead suggested that urban growth ought to be directed to new towns some distance from Metropolitan Toronto. While this is already a stated policy of the province, the Toronto Airport Review Committee argued in its brief that the location of the new town of North Pickering is sufficiently close to Metro that it may in fact have a centralizing rather than a decentralizing effect, particularly if new transportation facilities are added to serve the Pickering airport. This comment was also made by the consultant who prepared the Commission's background paper on demographic trends. However, since the Pickering airport has been cancelled, the ultimate effect of the new community remains an open question.

Another point raised by Professor Hefferon in a meeting with the Commission was that the separation of planning and the implementation of plans can result in some rather difficult problems. He suggested that the goals of planners and those of operating departments and agencies such as the TTC or a roads department are often in conflict and that a closer integration of planning and operations functions is needed.

## Housing

Housing has become a major concern within Metropolitan Toronto over the last few years. With the rapid increase in housing costs and the sharp decline in the production of new housing, government at all levels has had to intervene more substantially in both housing production and conservation.

A background report on housing prepared for the Commission by the firm of Klein and Sears describes the production of housing in four stages:

- Motivation to Build
- Financing, Planning, and Land Assembly
- Construction
- Management and Operation

With the current low vacancy rate, there is little doubt that there is a market for additional housing. The question is what kind of housing, and at what price. The private sector builds to make a profit and because of a reduced land supply, increased regulation, higher costs and reduced profits, it has reduced its activity in recent years. The public sector attempts to provide housing for low-income households at a cost they can afford, while the non-profit sector, a relatively new sector, is concerned with providing housing at less than market cost.

The attitude of a municipality toward development and the availability of public money to assist both the producer and potential occupants are major factors in influencing the decision to build.

Having decided to build, the producer, whether public or private, may

survey the market, select and acquire a site, obtain financing, go through all the necessary planning and design stages and get the required government approval. It is at this stage that government has its greatest involvement. Since all four levels of government play a role, the effects of their activities can complicate and delay matters thereby contributing to the overall costs.

The construction stage is relatively simple in that there are sufficient competent builders available but it has also been argued that the industry has been slow to develop and employ innovative building techniques. The role of government at this stage is primarily regulatory in ensuring that the construction meets certain standards of quality and safety, and that the construction work itself is carried out in a safe manner.

Once the housing is built, the tasks of management and operation are relatively straight forward but they are not without their problems. For example, there have been many recent claims of rent gouging on the part of landlords. Certainly bona fide examples have been given of situations where landlords have made inordinate profits on old stock accommodation. Some tenants have experienced rent increases of 40 per cent and 50 per cent in one year and have been given what they feel is too short notice to find alternative accommodation given the present housing market. On the other hand, in recent stories in the press, landlords claim that inflation has substantially increased their costs, that they often have to make up for losses resulting from long-term leases, and finally that the profits they are making on older buildings are being used to subsidize new construction.

In this connection, the Association of Women Electors wrote:

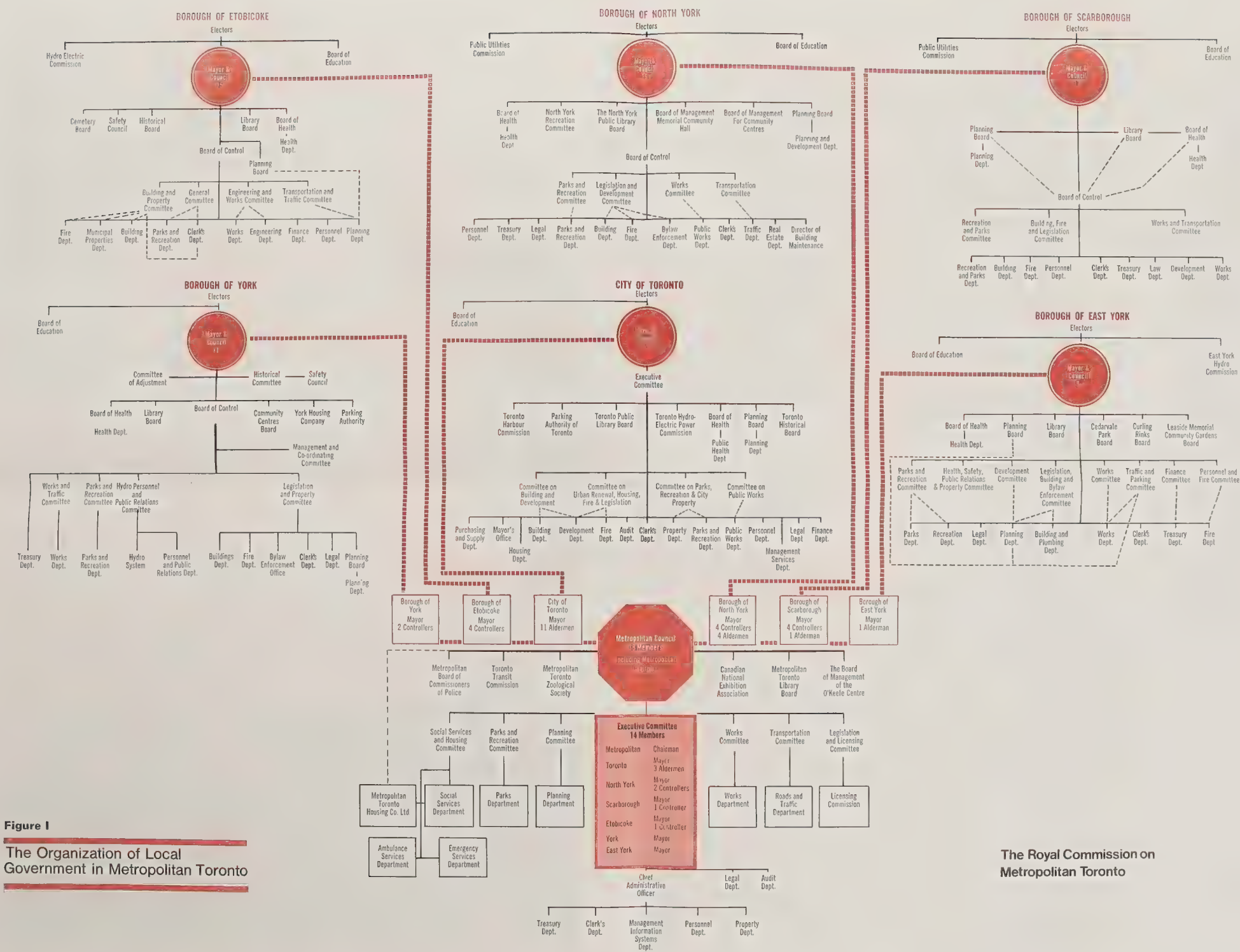
"Tenants represent an increasingly large proportion of Metro's population, a proportion which will continue to increase. The tenant's status of second-class citizen, through the years has been built into our legal fabric should no longer be accepted as normal. Nor should the relatively small group of citizens who control private rental accommodation be in a position to threaten, by virtue of this second-class status, the welfare and security of so many of their fellow citizens. In an economic climate such as we are now experiencing, we feel very strongly that all landlords, whether corporate, small operators or individuals should be prevented from profiteering at the expense of their tenants. The tenant is affected also by whatever rules and regulations his particular landlord may choose to impose — some quite reasonably, others tyrannically. He is also affected, when living in a multi-family



# The Organization of Local Government in Metropolitan Toronto





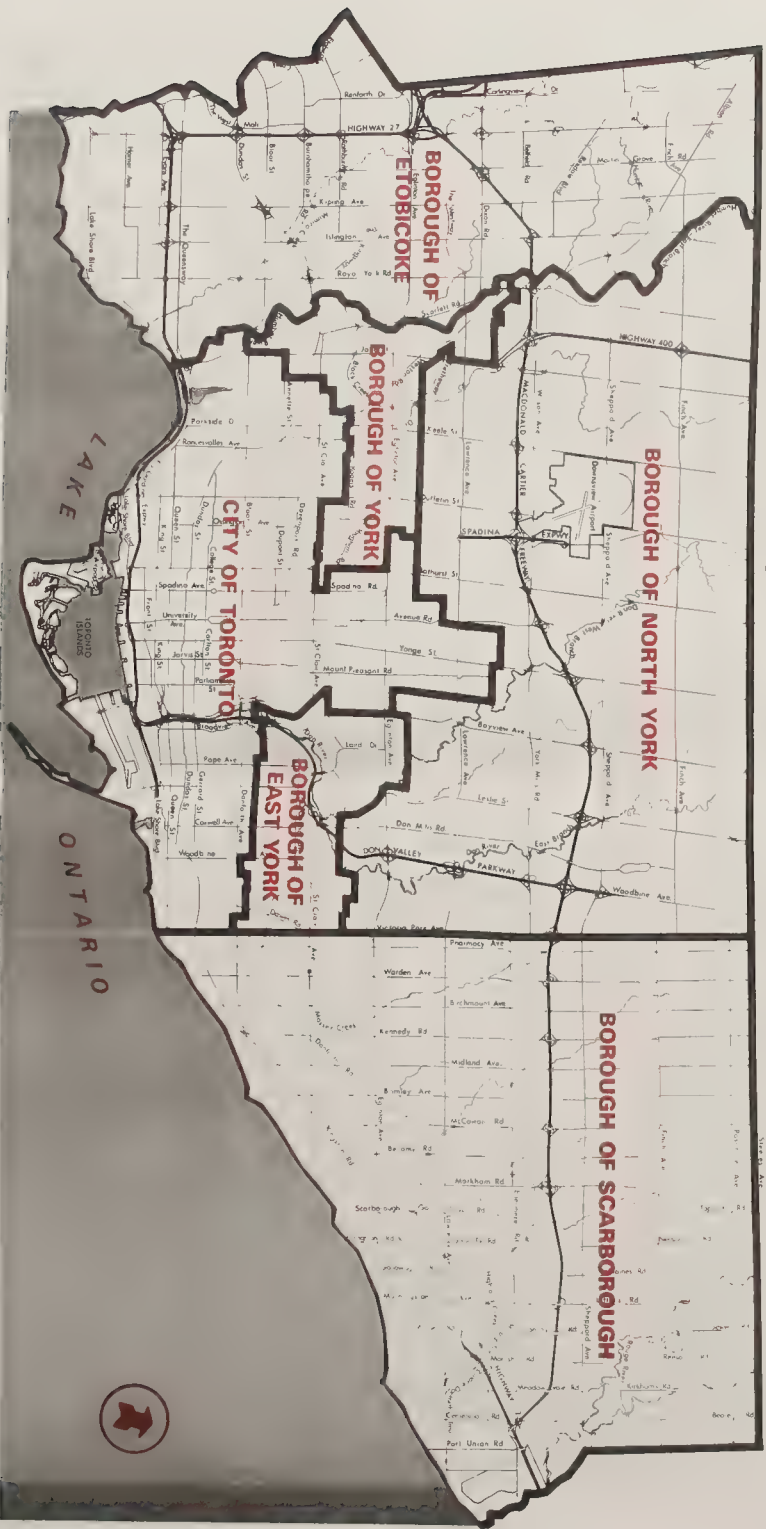


**Figure 1**

**The Organization of Local Government in Metropolitan Toronto**

**The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto**

# The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto 1975





building, by the quality of management. The personality of a superintendent is often the crucial aspect of life in an apartment."

They recommended:

- a) "a thorough review of *The Landlord and Tenant Act* be undertaken with the aim of removing those sections which encourage discrimination against tenants. Similarly, if there are sections of the Act which appear to put the landlord in an untenable position, they too should be carefully reconsidered;
- b) that the province establish, supported by adequate legislation, appeal boards across Metro to review rents, and also to handle actions under *The Landlord and Tenant Act*." (Since the presentation of this brief, the province has taken steps to control rents. In addition, rents will no doubt be affected by the new federal program of wage and price restraints.)
- c) that all legislation which indirectly may affect tenants by treating them, or their residences, differently from landowners, be reviewed so as to remove such discrimination;
- d) that the legislation be amended to make provision in multi-family buildings for Management Advisory Committees composed of tenants and management. We see these not so much as devices for resolving conflict, though they would be that, but as the instrument for developing tenant involvement, responsibility and pride. We have in mind the success of such a committee structure and function in the Regent's Park housing development. Often many apartments have hundreds of tenants, a small village of residents. As in our villages, landlord and tenants should participate in a form of responsible democratic government.
- e) that superintendents be required to be licensed following a period of instruction and apprenticeship. We envisage several classes of licences which would relate to the size of the building supervised."

Government controls standards of maintenance and, in the case of rental properties, has developed legislation governing landlord/tenant relationships. In addition, government is the largest landlord in that it manages the existing stock of public housing.

The impact of government activities on housing production is enormous. Consider these three areas:

- Financing
- Planning and regulation
- Direct involvements as a producer or operator

## Financing

Most federal government funding for housing is in the form of loans and therefore represents a recoverable investment rather than an expenditure. The federal government has directly invested in and has encouraged the private sector to invest in housing since 1935. These funds made available to private producers and other levels of government, have resulted in the production of 1,700,000 dwelling units in Canada since that time.

Until 1968, most funding was in the form of mortgages for middle-income housing with a loan amount being provided for low and moderate-income groups. However, the emphasis was shifted in the late 1960's to the provision of housing for the most needy. In recent years, the federal government has reordered its priorities once again in favour of middle and moderate income people.

More than 20 per cent of all housing units built in Metro over the last two decades were federally funded and about three-quarters of these were for low income groups.

Traditionally the role of the province in housing has been to stimulate the private sector to produce housing

for the moderate to middle income groups. However, the province is becoming increasingly involved in the provision of housing and, in 1975, provincial expenditures for housing in Ontario may exceed those of the federal government in this province for the first time.

In addition to direct loans for housing, there are intergovernmental loans and grants to provide the services and infrastructure necessary for new housing, such as schools, sewerage, roads and recreational facilities. Government also provides operating subsidies for low-income housing and a limited number of grants to encourage the production of non-profit housing.

While all levels of government contribute to housing, federal contributions have been offset by interest received on loans while the monies from other levels of government have come from current revenues or borrowing.

## Planning and regulation

Local municipalities regulate the location, density and type of housing to be provided through local planning policies, subdivision control, and zoning. Final approval in these areas rests with the provincial Ministry of Housing, the Ontario Municipal Board and, ultimately, the Cabinet. Regulatory and approval processes are time consuming, and there is a growing feeling on the part of housing producers that they are too costly and counter-productive. It is in this area that the greatest criticism of government activities in housing has been expressed.

Because of the pressure for growth well beyond Metro's boundaries, the province created three new regional municipalities surrounding Metro. As discussed above, there is no mechanism to co-ordinate planning and development among Metro and these new regions. According to the Klein and Sears report, the absence of any comprehensive provincial development strategy for the area makes it difficult for any of the municipalities to develop appropriate planning and housing policies.

## Direct activity

The major direct activity of government in the housing field has been in the provision of public housing and it represents a major expenditure. Neighbourhood resistance to public housing complexes has resulted in a new approach whereby public housing units are integrated with other housing, particularly in privately owned, multiple unit rental accommodation. However, not enough units have been produced to accommodate the growing number of families who cannot afford housing in the private market. Since the end of 1973, not one new public housing unit for low income families has been constructed in Metro. As a result, the public housing program has come under considerable criticism. Several possible solutions to this problem were suggested to the Commission. The New Democratic Party, the Association of Women Electors (AWE) and the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations (CORRA) all suggested that the province require municipalities to accept their fair share of housing for all income groups. The AWE recommended:

"that the province make mandatory across Ontario the number of assisted housing units each municipality should absorb, taking into account the various social and economic pressures for equitable distribution of these units within a municipality.

Having removed the onus of decision-making from the municipalities with respect to the number of

assisted housing units they should take, we feel the details of matters such as location, form of housing and mix of residents should be left to the municipality to decide. (In the event of amalgamation, Metro would be responsible for negotiating for funds, but the province would assign by formula the number of housing units to whatever districts into which Metro was subdivided)."

Ryerson Polytechnic Institute's Politics Class 015 suggested in its brief that landlords be required to provide their vacant units for public housing with the rents subsidized by the municipality. However, such a policy is only workable when there is a higher vacancy rate than we have at the present time.

Governments also get involved in the assembly of land for housing. As land costs have increased, all levels of government have increased their activities in this area. Examples are Malvern, North Pickering and the proposed St. Lawrence scheme in downtown Toronto. Government land assembly reduces the cost of housing on that land. However, according to the Klein and Sears report, when government competes for land with the private sector, it may inadvertently raise land prices generally.

The consultants claim that housing costs have increased because of a shortage of vacant land, an often unreasonably lengthy government approval process for new development, inflation and the increased costs of financing. The current shortage of housing is pushing rents and housing prices up even higher.

Those involved in the provision of non-profit housing see additional monies being made available to this sector as a needed and effective means of housing more people.

The Toronto Non-Profit Housing Federation made the following recommendations to the Commission in its brief:

1. "Metro should conduct a comprehensive study to detail the extent of the housing need for those with low and moderate income. This study should both identify the need as well as assess the capability of the different housing sectors to meet the defined need.
2. "Recognizing the third sector as the most desirable and viable vehicle for the production of low and moderate income housing in Metropolitan Toronto, Metro should act as an advocate for the non-profit housing sector before the two senior levels of government.
3. "On the basis of the comprehensive housing needs study, Metro should set production targets for low and moderate income housing. Further to ensuring that these targets are met, Metro should be supporting and encouraging non-profit production through its planning and development policies in conjunction with the municipalities.
4. "Metro should put forth non-profit housing as an acceptable alternative to Metro citizens by promoting its social benefits, its cost effectiveness and its compatibility with existing communities.
5. "In conjunction with the area municipalities, Metro should adopt a land-banking policy and a procedure for the purchase of land to be leased to non-profit housing producers.
6. "Metro should work closely with the Toronto Non-Profit Housing Federation, and other non-profit producers to ensure that adequate technical and resource support is available to the 'third sector'."



OHC's Don Mount family housing development

Developers claim that government impedes the production of new housing by bureaucratic bungling and unreasonable approval procedures. Most important of all they claim that government is continually changing the rules, which discourages people from investing in housing since it is virtually impossible to forecast costs and return on investment. However, rising costs and ultimately higher prices do not increase the potential homeowner's ability to pay. Therefore some means must be found to provide affordable housing for the average citizen.

## The conservation of housing

While a considerable amount of older housing exists in the City and two inner boroughs, it is decreasing as a percentage of the total housing stock in Metro. Nevertheless it is becoming an increasingly important asset. By contrast, in the outer boroughs, almost half of the housing has been built since 1961.

While current conservation concerns centre on the single, family-owned dwelling, it is apparent that more attention will be required in the future with respect to multiple housing units. This is because by 1971, 40.6 per cent of the total housing stock in Metro was apartment units and 49 per cent of housing was rented rather than owned, a substantial departure from the tradition of privately owned, single family dwellings.

Most housing conservation today has been carried out in the private sector but a growing appreciation of the need to conserve our housing has led to the development of a number of new public policies and programs. Housing conservation can be divided into four categories:

1. Maintenance and Rehabilitation
2. Conversion and Renovation
3. Demolition control
4. Preservation and Reconstruction

Maintenance and rehabilitation involve keeping existing housing in a habitable condition. While most of this is done privately, the federal government has recently developed programs such as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.), the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) and guaranteed loans to individuals for home improvement and/or extension to assist in the upgrading of individual houses and neighbourhoods. In the case of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program, an area must be designated as being in need of such improvement by the municipality. This is not required for a similar provincial program, the Ontario Home Renewal Program (OHRP).

One of the concerns about neighbourhood improvement is that the existing occupants are often forced to move out when the housing is upgraded, unless some special provision is made for them, because rents and house prices increase. In contrast to the old approach of razing and redeveloping so-called 'undesirable' neighbourhoods, some programs are now being designed to ensure that existing residents are not forced out by neighbourhood improvement.

In its brief, the Toronto Chapter of the Ontario Association of Architects argued that "rather than destroy existing housing, even in low density areas, new housing should be accommodated in infill schemes or on under-used industrial and commercial land where appropriate. Studies have shown that such techniques are feasible and these are currently being explored by several levels of government."

To promote conservation, the province encourages municipalities to

adopt maintenance standards and regular inspection programs. Funding is available through the programs previously mentioned to assist homeowners in meeting these standards.

Renovation and conversion involve major improvements and/or changes in the arrangement or use of space. Although the federal government provides some funding for conversions, most government activity in this area is regulatory. Building by-laws and zoning regulations are used to control physical alterations and changes in use.

The main concern about renovation has been the effect it has had on housing costs. Within the City, for example, entire low income neighbourhoods have been transformed into middle and upper income housing. While housing improvements may be desirable, "white painting" is depleting the supply of low cost housing at the time when very little is being built, leaving a gap on low incomes with a scarcity of alternative accommodation.

Another problem is the conversion of rental accommodation to condominiums when rental vacancy rates are low. Some of the area municipalities are already restricting this practice although they have limited powers in this field.

Demolition is part of both the housing production and conservation processes. When there is a scarcity of vacant land, demolition of commercial or low density residential buildings is often required to make room for new residential development. On the other hand, demolition can present serious problems where existing housing stock is replaced by non-residential development.

In the past, most of the concern over demolition has been focussed on the preservation of historic sites. However, there is a growing recognition of the importance of conserving older housing as part of the housing supply. While municipalities can withhold demolition permits for limited periods of time, they have relatively little authority in this area. Former North York Alderman Jack Beidler suggested that vacant residential land be taxed at commercial rates to deter unnecessary demolitions.

The problem simply expressed is this. As housing costs soar and the supply of lower cost housing is depleted, more and more people are unable to afford suitable accommodation. Unless this situation is remedied, we will have doubling up, overcrowding and slum conditions, which tend to generate a host of other costly problems both in social and economic terms.

## Some Issues

According to a background report on housing in Metro prepared for the Commission by the firm of Klein and Sears, the federal government has perhaps the greatest impact on housing of any level of government through its general economic policies and particularly through its funding policies. The consultants say that there is a particular need for the federal government to develop long term funding policies to create a predictable flow of money under precise conditions so that both the private sector and other levels of government can plan rationally.

At the provincial level, the consultants suggest that the most significant problem for Metro is the lack of an overall planning framework for the Toronto Centred Region within which the municipalities can work.

The New Democratic Party in its brief suggested that a body be created to co-ordinate intermunicipal planning. It recommended that this body

"should also include housing, since provincial policies with respect to economic growth and the distribution of population have such an influence on the demand for housing

and its location." It went on to say: "We recommend that the province work with the area municipalities and a Lakeshore Co-ordinating Committee (proposed as a means of co-ordinating inter-regional planning) to set targets for housing output and for the income groups to be served. Once these general requirements are established, we believe the municipality is best equipped to decide the kind of housing communities that should be built, and the location and pace of residential development. Each area municipality should be free to make those decisions provided that it continues to meet the provincial targets for housing that have been agreed on. New financial arrangements need to be worked out with the province in order to stop planning by assessment and to permit area municipalities to accept affordable housing for all income groups, not just those on high incomes. Within this framework the intervention by Metro in housing matters which is so resented at the local level would no longer be required."

Changing attitudes to growth, land-use and environmental considerations have resulted in the imposition of increased regulations with regard to new housing and housing conversions and an effort to conserve existing housing stock on the part of area municipalities. According to Klein and Sears, as the area municipalities have become more aggressive in establishing their own positions with respect to limiting growth and development, the role of Metro in these areas has diminished.

They claim, too, that attempts by Metro to have a greater impact on housing have been weak and ambivalent since any Metro housing policy must have the agreement of the area municipalities. Therefore, the consult-

ants think that some clarification of municipal responsibilities in housing is very much needed.

According to the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto which supports amalgamation:

*"Metropolitan Toronto should play a major role in housing in Metro Toronto, for only by expanding its jurisdiction into moderate income housing which is presently left to the local municipalities, can housing objectives be met. Secondly, a Metro housing policy should reflect long-term housing, transportation, population, and environmental goals of Metropolitan Council and these cannot be realized by fragmented approaches and partial solutions. The Metro government must have the political jurisdiction based on a regional consensus for implementing aspects of local development - i.e., density minimums, zoning restrictions, etc."*

An area of special concern is the provision of public housing, particularly for families. To quote from the Klein and Sears report:

*"Alternative techniques which have been developed to take the place of public provision have not resulted in an adequate number of units and, at the same time, government priorities in housing are emphasizing housing for moderate to middle income households."*

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute's Politics Class 015 suggested:

*"that more public housing for low income groups be provided on a Metro-wide basis, that the housing authority have the power to require landlords to use existing vacancies for public housing with rent subsidized by the city where necessary and that the housing authority have the power to control rent."*





# Transportation

At present, most parts of Metropolitan Toronto have reasonably good transportation facilities. Those areas where service might be described as poor are being given attention and plans are underway to improve service in the fairly near future. However, a discussion of transportation does not begin and end with who needs more or better transportation and how they get it.

Transportation and land-use policies are intrinsically related. The pursuit of certain land-use policies will either support or undermine a certain transportation system. By the same token, when we build a major transportation facility, to some degree we commit ourselves to certain land-use patterns. For example, since the construction of the Yonge Subway, development has intensified in the areas served by it such as Yonge-Bloor, Yonge-Eglinton, Yonge-Sheppard and so on.

Today, what we have in Metro by way of transportation facilities represents the sum total of a number of individual and independent decisions taken by different agencies, rather than the result of a comprehensive long-range transportation plan.

An examination of the transportation system indicates that it provides the best service for those travelling to and from downtown Toronto. Many facilities were built to serve the burgeoning populations of the outer City and the suburbs over the last few decades. According to the final report of the Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review, if we wish to centralize further and have more and more people working downtown, it is obvious that most transportation facilities should radiate out from the central City. If, on the other hand, this trend is to be reversed and most new job opportunities located in the suburbs, the construction of centrally oriented transportation facilities must be curtailed and a system developed which allows more people to get to more places as conveniently as they now get to downtown.

The majority of the briefs submitted to the Commission to date favour policies of decentralization and contained growth. Dennis Frinold in his brief wrote:

"Metropolitan Toronto has been allowed to grow like Topsy without concern that the further out we spread, the more expensive the cost of transportation, and since this situation has been caused by all three levels of government, let each take its share of blame and responsibility."

Individuals and groups who called for the preservation of downtown residential neighbourhoods believe that this is only possible if further commercial and industrial growth is located elsewhere.

Another transportation issue is the availability and cost of energy. When the costs of transportation facilities or new developments are estimated, is adequate consideration being given to their long term costs in terms of energy? Admittedly this is difficult to assess when predictions of future energy supplies and costs vary so widely. However, it is generally agreed that we are running short of fossil fuels which provide most of our energy today. Opponents of new urban expressways and the recently cancelled Pickering Airport argue that new facilities which require enormous amounts of energy for their effective utilization should not be considered when there is some question as to whether the energy will be available and if so, at costs we can afford.

If public safety, pollution, loss of tax revenues, revenues generated, travel time, labour, and so on are

taken into account, what are the real costs of different forms of transportation? Many suggest the car is the most expensive, but point out that rapid transit is only suitable for areas of medium to high density. Therefore, they say that the solution is to reduce the need for much of our travel by having more people live closer to their places of work and their social activities.

There is little doubt that people and business will locate close to good transportation services. However, is it practical or politically possible to provide transportation facilities designed to influence the urban structure while foregoing improvements in current serious need of additional transportation services? Perhaps the best current example is the proposal to raise downtown parking fees to encourage transit use when many of those who drive to work live in areas with relatively poor transit service. If it is possible to use transportation as a tool in managing and directing urban growth, on what scale can it be done most appropriately?

While it is not the role of the Commission to recommend specific transportation policies, some understanding of policy alternatives is necessary to be able to recommend the best form of local government to deal with transportation concerns.

For example, we know that policies to decentralize even within Metro will not be successful unless Metro's activities are co-ordinated with those of other bodies and levels of government. For effective planning, we know too that careful attention must be paid not only to what facilities are provided but also to the sequence in which they are provided.

In discussing new development planned for the Pickering area, the Metro Toronto Airport Review Committee claimed:

"that far-reaching detrimental impacts would result specifically from the roads and sewers built to service the proposed airport and new town, because these would in effect constitute an open invitation to spread further the geographic area of the Toronto complex. The high cost of these services, which might lie undervalued for decades, will either distort all other capital priorities in the region or will, even worse, force-feed the urban sprawl we all decry."

These are the kinds of considerations which must be looked at when evaluating transportation organization as it relates to Metro.

## Who is responsible for Metro's transportation system?

The following bodies are directly involved in planning, financing, building or operating transportation facilities within Metro:

### At the Area Municipal Level

- Departments of Streets and/or Works
- Planning Departments
- Parking Authorities

### At the Metro Level

- Metro Department of Roads and Traffic
- Metro Planning Department
- The Toronto Transit Commission
- Metro Licensing Commission

### At the Toronto Centred Region Level

- Toronto Area Transit Operation Authority (TATOA)

### At the Provincial Level

- The Ministry of Transportation and Communications
- The Highway Transport Board
- The Ontario Municipal Board
- The Ontario Transportation Development Corporation
- The Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs

### At the Federal Level

- Ministry of Transport
- Canadian Transport Commission
- Canadian National Railway
- Canadian Pacific Railway
- Toronto Harbour Commission

In addition, there are numerous co-ordinating bodies at all levels and a number of private organizations such as taxi cab companies involved in Metro's transportation.

According to the Commission's transportation consultants, Drs. Richard Soberman and Juri Pill, there is some question, with so many agencies involved, as to whether alternative ways of expending public funds on transportation are ever really considered when a transportation decision is taken.

The influence of the province on Metro's transportation decisions is steadily increasing as it picks up an increasingly large share of the costs.

When the province announced its Cities Are For People urban transit program, additional monies were made available for transit. This new policy allowed Metro to consider a number of transit proposals it could never have considered when capital subsidies were smaller and transit had to recover all operating costs from the farebox. Despite the assistance available, there is considerable doubt

as to whether Metro will be able to cope with the increasing operating deficits of the T.T.C. unless new sources of municipal revenue are found.

The public is far from agreement on how transportation planning and decision-making ought to be organized. While virtually all recognize the need for more co-ordination at a regional or inter-regional level, many of those who presented briefs fear the loss of local control over certain kinds of transportation decisions.

The following is an indication of the range of opinion expressed on the subject:

## Transportation planning

From the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations:

"The really significant transportation planning decisions are now made at the provincial level, both for Metro and for the whole region (i.e. GO and the extension of the Don Valley Expressway). Provincial subsidies for various modes of transportation play a further critical role.

The proposed regional planning framework should enable much greater municipal participation in the transportation planning process. The regional planning committee should also oversee the operations of TATOA.

"Metro's role in transportation planning, then, should greatly decrease. The era of urban expressway building is over (by provincial decree and by popular choice) and Metro's heavy spending on expressways and arterials really is not needed. Metro should probably retain responsibility for the main-



tenance of expressways, but arterial roads, street cleaning and maintenance should become local matters. A means would have to be found for equalizing costs for this service. We foresee that the Dundas Street issue will be repeated more and more frequently in the future and our proposals are designed to avoid such needless confrontations."

And a similar comment from the Metropolitan Toronto Co-ordinating Committee of the New Democratic Party:

"Transportation planning in Metro is inextricably intertwined with Queen's Park through provincial subsidies, projects like the GO trains and Ontario's freeway network, and joint agencies such as the Toronto Area Transit Operating Authority (TATO) and the Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review. Since the provincial role is so obvious, and since transportation planning depends so heavily on the allocation of population and jobs, we anticipate that the Lakeshore Co-ordinating Committee (a proposed inter-regional planning body) would set the framework for major transportation investments within the Toronto region. It is also the logical body to oversee TATO. "Metro's role in transportation planning is actually becoming less and less relevant. While Metro spends heavily on roads and transit, the era of new urban expressways within Metro has ended and the expansion of arterial roads mainly falls within area municipalities and can be handled locally. If conflicts arise, they can be resolved through Metro council (by a two-thirds vote) without having to keep all responsibility for major roads at the Metro level. In fact, each area municipality will probably want to develop its road network in response to local tastes and needs. Metro now functions to equalize the financial costs of road investment and operations, but we believe roads can be made a local responsibility and other means found to equalize the spending burden."

Dennis Prinold said in his brief that while transportation in Metropolitan Toronto is a serious problem,

it often appears that the municipal, Metropolitan and provincial governments are working against each other and not for the common good. Mr. Prinold went on to say:

"Decisions regarding such matters as planning of land-use and transportation should be the decision of the area municipality with some means of equalizing the cost. Before any one system of transportation is shelved, there should be an alternative in operation and not just an airy-fairy scheme of an opportunist politician."

And from the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto . . .

"It is our contention that through amalgamation, a comprehensive planning approach can be undertaken to overcome the serious lack of Metropolitan planning at the present, and also to overcome the political parochialism of some of our politicians."

"This type of ward mentality seriously hampers the whole area of transportation as witnessed by the recent rate-fare increase debate in Metro Toronto. It is our firm belief that transportation and land-use go hand-in-hand, and if we have the parochial interests actively opposing this concept, then this is detrimental to the overall planning of Metropolitan Toronto."

## The division of responsibilities

From the South Rosedale Ratepayer's Association .

"There is one service provided by the municipality and the province which may economically make sense to have controlled by metropolitan government, but has a decidedly iniquitous effect on local areas — road transportation. Many things have been said about the introduction and spread of expressways in Metropolitan Toronto and the Association must express its strong concern that road building not be superimposed by any Metropolitan Toronto government. The most debilitating effect to downtown areas can be caused by the con-

tinued spread of expressways across, through, over and adjacent to stable residential areas."

## Transit

The Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations and the New Democratic Party were the most specific as to how transit might be operated. To quote from the brief of the New Democratic Party:

"We do not believe that the Toronto Transit Commission should be dismantled. Its operations should remain as one of a handful of responsibilities of the reformed Metro government."

"Operating the TTC, however, is largely a service. This is reflected in the delegation of most operating responsibilities to the Toronto Transit Commission. The problem is that the TTC also sets policies centrally regarding availability of transit, new routes, etc. without adequate local consultation."

"We would therefore recommend a new structure for the TTC that reflects our concern for local accountability. Each area municipality should appoint a transit advisory committee made up of councillors and citizens. This advisory committee would meet regularly, have a small staff, and generally advise on TTC operations within the borough. The new TTC would have one representative from each advisory committee selected by area municipal councils along with one or two representatives appointed by Metro Council. The TTC operations would be administered by the Commission in consultation with the local TAC, so that services could be tailored to local needs without balkanizing the TTC. TTC deficits would still be shared by Metro and the province, but boroughs would be allowed to pay for special services."

"The planning of transit services should place more emphasis on local involvement. To begin with, GO Transit, and the other services provided by the Toronto Area Transit Operating Authority should not operate in a vacuum. TATO should

report to the Lakeshore Co-ordinating Committee (a proposed inter-regional planning body) and the LCC should scrutinize TATO's planning and proposed new services. The LCC and Queen's Park will create the framework of transportation planning for the region, but the TTC and Metro Council will have the major responsibility for planning new subway routes and other heavy transit investments. The overall level of transit service within Metro would also be determined by the TTC and Metro Council which would still finance the TTC deficits. Local services and local levels of service would be established by the TTC in conjunction with the local transit advisory committees and the area municipalities."

"We admit that this is a complicated structure, but the alternative is too dangerous to accept. The TTC would be wrecked if it were taken over by TATO and local involvement in transit planning or operations would be a farce."

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute's Politics Class 015 argued for increased emphasis on transit and suggested that the additional cost be met by giving Metro the power to levy personal and corporate taxes.

They suggested:

"That free and improved public rapid transit be provided with less emphasis on expressways and the use of the private automobile for transportation."

"Removal of fares would encourage the use of rapid transit and make the use of the automobile less attractive. This would lessen the traffic problems during peak periods and allow more efficient movement of a greater number of people."

It is clear that many people in Metropolitan Toronto are concerned about transportation planning and services. It is clear too that more co-ordination among decision-making bodies is seen as necessary. However, in the briefs dealing with planning and/or transportation, there is a concern expressed that some control be retained at the area municipality or even neighbourhood level.





# Physical Services, Environmental Protection and Energy Supply

Most of those who presented briefs to the Commission either made no comment about, or indicated their general satisfaction, with the provision of physical services and programs of environmental protection in Metropolitan Toronto, although some concern was expressed about energy supply. However, a background report on these areas prepared for the Commission by James F. MacLaren Ltd. did point out some concerns with respect to most of them.

## Sewerage

Sewerage is the physical system built to collect and treat waterborne wastes from all sources. The sewerage system in Metro is well established and there have been no significant management or operational problems. For the most part, capital construction has been financed from municipal borrowing, and operations from current revenues. However, in the case of new developments or the redevelopment of an existing area, the developer normally shares directly in the costs of additional servicing.

Some of the area municipalities have suggested that a service charge be added to water bills to help cover the costs of operating and maintaining sewerage facilities. Metro already adds such a charge when billing area municipalities for the water they use. The funds collected are allocated to water pollution control. The report prepared for the Commission by James F. MacLaren Ltd. identified two concerns:

- the possibility that new developments beyond Metro might require the construction of new trunk sewers through Metro and an enlargement of treatment facilities;
- whether some additional sewage treatment might be required in the future which could involve a major expenditure.

## Water Supply

The system for providing and distributing treated water within Metropolitan Toronto is almost completely built and is in extremely good condition. In fact, Metro's water servicing ranks with the best in the world. While the system could be overtaxed if we were faced with a prolonged drought, plans are already underway to construct additional water treatment capacity.

Metropolitan Toronto is responsible for all water treatment and storage works within Metro and all trunk mains connected to their points of supply. However, the area municipalities are responsible for the distribution of water to household and other users within their boundaries. To date there have been no significant conflicts between the two levels of government in this field.

As was pointed out in the consultant's report on physical services, water rates are set to provide self-sustaining water works systems:

"Despite the fact that the Metropolitan Corporation sets an equal and self-sustaining rate for water among all area municipalities, there is a significant variation in consumer rates set by the area municipalities. This variation reflects such factors as the age of the respective local systems, retirement of debt, the mix of industrial, commercial and residential consumers and political considerations relating to the extent that revenues generated from water rates are used for other than waterworks purposes."

Applying its policy of decentralizing local government to this field, the New Democratic Party stated in its brief.

"Even in this area we believe that there has been too much centralization of powers in the City. Sewage and water services are needed to carry out plans that should be created by the Lakeshore Co-ordinating Committee (a proposed inter-regional planning body) on the one hand, and by area municipalities on the other. Metro is therefore only needed to provide sewage treatment and water purification services which the area municipalities cannot effectively provide themselves. We recommend that the area municipalities take over all responsibilities for sewer and water construction and operations and that they buy water supplies and sewage treatment from Metro on a purchase of service basis."

## Storm water management

Local storm water drainage is the responsibility of the area municipalities. New developments or redevelopment create more runoff and therefore cause a risk in flooding, either at source or further downstream. While Metro has considerable power with respect to drainage, the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority (MTRCA) co-ordinates water management of the major rivers and streams flowing through Metro. Therefore, any work done on these major watercourses is administered by the MTRCA which in turn bills Metro for its share of the costs.

There are some problems with respect to storm water management. For example, when a bordering region outside Metro or an outer ring municipality in Metro builds a major development or redevelops an area, its local storm water facilities might be quite adequate to accommodate the additional runoff within its own boundaries but this runoff could create serious problems for areas further downstream. It was pointed out in the report on physical services prepared for the Commission that without inter-regional planning, Metro might have to expand its storm-water facilities to accommodate increased runoff resulting from new developments beyond its boundaries.

The inter-municipal arrangements with respect to this problem are described in the MacLaren report:

"In order to satisfy local drainage requirements where natural drainage traverses political boundaries, a number of working agreements have been established between area municipalities. Capital and maintenance costs of storm drainage are shared by the City and the Borough of East York in the Danforth Avenue area. Reportedly a less satisfactory agreement exists between the City and the Borough of York. A successful resolution of drainage problems between Scarborough and North York has been reached with agreements to deal with construction of storm sewers."

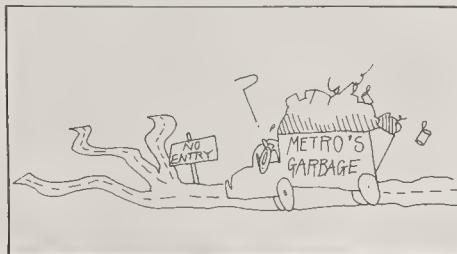
"Where agreements have been made between area municipalities and an extra capacity is provided within the downstream municipality, a charge to defray the extra capital cost is levied on the upstream municipality. No charge is, however, made for subsequent service or maintenance."

"Less success in reaching cost sharing agreements for drainage

facilities is evident between the Boroughs of Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke and the Regional Municipality of York together with its member municipalities. While capacity has been reserved in trunk drainage works within Scarborough for upstream development in the Town of Markham, these facilities are extended only to the municipal boundaries and effectively terminated. A similar inability to reach agreement has led North York to construct trunk sewers up to the

northern municipal boundary with sufficient capacity for drainage within the Borough only. Progressive development within the Town of Vaughan and Markham will eventually render the natural drainage system inadequate and necessitate the construction of east-west collector sewers which will discharge to the main rivers and streams."

The Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority may have some difficulty solving this problem.



## Solid waste (Garbage)

Garbage collection in Metropolitan Toronto is the responsibility of the area municipalities and garbage disposal is the responsibility of Metro.

Area municipality staff collect all residential and some commercial refuse. However, industrial and commercial operations which produce extremely large quantities of refuse hire private collectors to pick it up. The garbage is delivered to the area municipality's terminal dumping point where it is picked up by Metro and taken to a landfill site. Sometimes it may be taken directly to a landfill site if one is close at hand or it may be taken to Metro's incineration facilities.

It is the responsibility of Metro to find means to dispose of garbage either in the form it is collected or as incinerator residue. When Metro was responsible for a planning area of some 715 square miles, it had the power to locate landfill sites anywhere within that area. However, with the creation of regional governments around Metro, Metro's planning area was reduced to that within its boundaries. There are no appropriate landfill sites left in Metro. Although Metro retained the power to locate landfill sites beyond its boundaries, subject to approval by the municipalities involved, it is almost impossible to get nearby municipalities to approve them in their areas.

If incinerators are not used, the volume of garbage is much greater. At present, there is considerable opposition to their use because of their polluting effects on the air.

The question is what kind of body with what kinds of power is needed to find a reasonable long-term solution to the disposal of Metro's garbage.

It has been suggested to the Commission that because area municipalities only collect garbage and do not have to dispose of it, they have less incentive to encourage people to reduce the amount of garbage they generate or to experiment with recycling. Nonetheless, most municipalities are experimenting in these fields.

The MacLaren report posed the following question:

"The disposal of refuse and residue materials is a Metropolitan responsibility in law and Metropolitan Toronto is provided with specific powers to deal with this situation. Does the eight year history of this problem not suggest that because of external controls of senior government and public rejection of the concept of disposal of waste to the countryside or in any burning facility that the Metropolitan Corporation cannot on its own cope with this problem?"

The New Democratic Party and the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations suggested that the province should select garbage disposal sites in consultation with the regional planning co-ordinating committees which both propose in their briefs.

Edmund Peachey, in his brief, suggested that:

"Garbage collection should be let out by contract to private contractors, controlled by a central public authority. The authority would have the responsibility of assigning disposal or incineration sites. A section could be assigned to research recycling methods and sanitary fill procedures."

## Environmental Protection

### Air management

Air quality monitoring and pollution control are administered by the Ontario Ministry of the Environment. When the air quality in Metro falls below a certain standard, emissions from major pollution sources are curtailed.

According to the report prepared for the Commission by James F. MacLaren Ltd.:

"The main weakness in air management relates to the lack of formal control or approval on the location of new facilities."

If they are located too near existing ones, they can raise the level of pollution beyond acceptable standards, thereby penalizing established developments in the area. In addition, a development outside Metro could have a major negative effect on Metro's air quality, resulting in an unacceptable level of pollution with just the normal operation of facilities in Metro. Another concern is that a major part of pollution in Metro comes from mobile sources such as automobiles and airplanes. Standards for these vehicles are set by the federal government. This is one area where Metro by itself has no direct control.

### Noise

Traditionally noise has been controlled by general nuisance bylaws at the area municipality level. However, these bylaws were not very effective in dealing with many of the major sources of noise.

The Government of Ontario has drafted a model bylaw for adoption by municipalities which permits councils to declare specific noise annoying and to curb them. This bylaw has been adopted by the City of Toronto, which has established a set of standards to be



attained over a period of time for certain types of construction equipment and other noise sources.

While this represents an improvement in controlling the growing problem of noise, it is by no means a solution to it. As the MacLaren report pointed out, much of our noise is caused by moving vehicles such as cars, trucks, motorcycles, trains and planes. The manufacturing standards for these vehicles are set by the federal government. The noise generated by the operation of some of them is under provincial jurisdiction. Therefore, it is difficult for a municipality to ensure that noise levels from these sources do not exceed a specific level.

The area of noise pollution, is extremely complex.

To quote from the MacLaren report:

"Noise to people is subjective and varies in its effect from person to person and area to area. Does this suggest the need for provincial regulation to be administered at a Metro or area municipality level or does it in the alternative suggest local control?"

## Energy supply

### Electricity

Ontario Hydro provides bulk electrical power to municipal electric utilities in each of the six area municipalities in Metropolitan Toronto which in turn provide electric power to the consumer. In addition, Ontario Hydro has extensive authority in the regulation and control of municipal electric utilities. The Metro Corporation has no direct responsibilities in this area.

At present the quality of service is high. Whether or not local utilities will be able to continue providing this kind of service will largely depend on the ability of Ontario Hydro to expand its generating and transmission facilities at the rate needed to keep pace with the increasing demand.

The major issue in Metro with respect to electricity appears to be whether or not the six local utilities should be amalgamated.

A few briefs suggested the amalgamation of hydro utilities to eliminate any duplication of services and reduce costs.

A strong argument for doing away with public utilities commissions altogether was presented by Ian M. Rogers, Q.C. in his brief to the Commission:

"All local hydros are strictly controlled by the Ontario Hydro Electric Commission whose approval is required for rates and capital expenditures. Surpluses cannot be invested without its sanction in statute prescribed securities. These are not the same as those in which general municipal funds can be invested. Council members have little to say in hydro matters except in York which, without a commission, appears to be the most efficiently operated in the city; residential rates in York are the lowest. This fact refutes the oft-made argument that since hydro is a business it must be managed as such and this can only be done by a commission. How hydro distribution can be termed a business is not clear when it is required to sell power at cost and not at a profit. If this were correct, then we should supply water in the same manner Ontario Hydro wants to maintain the status quo because it can deal more easily with a 3 or 5 man commission than with a council."

"The recent report by the Minister of Energy concerning the Restructuring of Public Utilities, dated February 11, 1975, seems to confirm this view, since there are no changes recommended in the structure of hydro utilities. A commission is to be retained without any options given to council except to make it appointive or elective. The 'keep the politicians out' refrain is repeated in the recommendation that 'in no case shall members of council form a majority of the commission.' This is strange in view of the dropping in 1972 of this requirement in the case of planning boards. No explanation of the insistence of the Minister and the Hogg Committee that councils be prevented from controlling this utility is given. Consumers in the Borough of York, who enjoy the lowest rates in Metro, do not seem to have any complaints about their Borough operated system."

The alternative point of view was presented by the Etobicoke Hydro Commission:

"It is the feeling of this Commission that the community benefits both in service and efficiency when the citizens are entrusted with the governing and supply of essential public services to their own community. As stated in the Task Force Hydro Report, the essential element is responsiveness to the customer."

The Etobicoke Hydro Commission supported the following recommendations contained in the Task Force Hydro Report:

1. The fundamental relationship which has existed between the municipality and its hydro utility should be preserved.
2. We see a need for Commissioners who are not members of Municipal Councils.
3. The boundaries of a utility should be contiguous with those of the local government.
4. Each distribution utility should be large enough to be fully competent and efficient and have influence in shaping Ontario Hydro's corporate objective and to contribute to providing "self-regulating" pressure on the Hydro Corporation."

The MacLaren report asks:

"Is it possible that a Metropolitan Energy Commission may provide a possible solution in which the operations of the six area electric utilities might be merged and in which the choice of energy use might be controlled to meet provincial regulation and Metropolitan planning concepts?"

### Fossil fuels

Approximately 98 per cent of all heating in Toronto is provided by petroleum or natural gas and the remaining 2 per cent by coal and electricity. Petroleum is also the major source of energy for transportation.

The supply and distribution of fossil fuels is carried out by private industry but is heavily regulated by the provincial and federal governments.

According to the MacLaren firm, Metro's major concern in this area in the short-term is with the pollution caused by the use of fossil fuels. This is of particular concern in the central area and could lead to control and regulation of their use. Co-ordination and control could also arise from the need to conserve and optimize the use of these non-renewable resources. In



fact, there would appear to be some urgent need for co-ordinated energy policies at all levels of government. Since Metro relies heavily on an abundance of relatively inexpensive energy, a severe shortage of fossil fuel could have a very serious impact on Metro's economic well-being.

Most of the concern about energy focused on the future and questioned our ability to meet future energy needs without major changes in planning practices and, ultimately, in lifestyle.

This view was well expressed by Allan O'Brien in a paper delivered to the 1975 Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada in a discussion about the future:

"How will local government be affected? Here are some possibilities. As energy prices rise and supplies shorten, more economical means of urban transportation will be required. Preference in expenditure and street design will have to be given to public transit, bicycles and pedestrians. There may have to be increases in average urban density, to permit transit economy and pedestrian scale.

"The same energy situation will affect housing in our cities. It may be in the national interest to reduce consumption of heating fuel by better

insulated buildings. Local government building inspectors may have to enforce new standards, adopted either provincially or municipally. And if we move strongly towards solar heating, then the air rights affecting access to sunlight will require very careful urban design supported by a web of regulations about distances, angles, ratios and space."

In raising the possibility of establishing a Metropolitan Energy Commission to control the choice of energy use, the MacLaren group asked: "Would such action be given greater emphasis if energy conservation and controls become mandatory to our way of life?"

What appears to emerge from this commentary is a concern that contemporary local governments be able to inject an energy perspective into all aspects of urban planning. Energy considerations apply to a wide range of urban activities, whether they be local redevelopments, transportation systems or the planning of new communities. The question before the Commission, therefore, is whether our present system of local government is capable of developing and implementing energy policies that can complement and reinforce federal and provincial efforts to cope with foreseeable problems of energy supply and energy costs.



## Public Safety

How to maintain Metro Toronto as a relatively safe place to live is a question which in some respects goes beyond the terms of reference of The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto. However, public safety services are very much a part of the structure of local government, and were the subject of a background report prepared for the Commission by F. S. Ross and Partners.

### Policing

The Metropolitan Toronto Police Force was established in 1957 with the amalgamation of the thirteen existing police forces. It is responsible to a Board of Commissioners of Police, and not to Metro Council. The Board is made up of the Metro Chairman, a Metro councillor, and three provincial appointees, two of whom are judges and the other usually a private citizen. The Board is responsible for governing the police force, authorizing the submission of its budget to Metro Council and investigating citizen complaints. As a result, the Board is a powerful body which functions quite independently from Metro Council. Yet in 1973 Metro paid 86.5 per cent of the police budget, with the province contributing the remaining 13.5 per cent.

Some changes in the Board's composition may be forthcoming as a result of the Metropolitan Toronto Review of Citizen-Police Complaint Procedures carried out by Arthur Mahoney, Q.C., prior to his appointment as provincial Ombudsman. His report to Metro Council of May 1975 recommended that:

"A Commissioner of citizen complaints be appointed by Metro Council on the recommendation of the Metro Chairman and that this position carry with it the tenure, salary, pension and other benefits of a Provincial Court Judge in Ontario."

He suggested that the incumbent of this office have no police affiliation and should preferably be a lawyer schooled in the rules of evidence, or a retired judge.

This report is currently being considered by the appropriate authorities.

In his brief, John Gillespie suggested that the present Board be restructured. He wrote

"What is needed is that more non-political, non-judicial appointments be made; that the chairmanship be a part-time position and that the Board of Commissioners of Police for Metropolitan Toronto urgently needs a woman, a leader of one of the three or four major ethnic communities in Metropolitan Toronto, and ideally, a trade unionist as well."

Mr. Gillespie suggested, too, that as long as the Police Commission is dealing with citizens' complaints, it will never be seen as impartial if it continues to be housed in the headquarters of the Metropolitan Toronto Police. He repeated the old adage that not only must justice be done but "justice must appear to be done".

### The structure of the force

The police force is headed by a Police Chief. Most of the staff are organized into five geographic areas, while specialized functions such as investigations of robberies and homicide, the emergency task force and the community services unit are Metro-wide. The total staff of the police force numbers 4,640 men and women, 3,760 of whom are constables.

From 1969 to 1973, the costs of policing in Metro increased by 78 per cent from \$43,048,709 to \$76,736,296. For the same period, per capita expenditures for policing increased from \$22.58 to \$36.27. Since 1970, the province has given per capita grants to municipalities with police forces. In 1973, the provincial grant covered 13.5 per cent of Metro's police expenditures for that year. While most citizens want to be assured that law and order are maintained, some concern has been expressed over the rate of increase in the police budget and the relative lack of control the public has over it.

Ian M. Rogers, Q.C., addressed the issue of local control over police expenditures in his brief:

"The Board submits its annual estimates to Council for its 'consideration and approval' but if Council does not approve or disavows as to the adequacy of the police force, etc., the Police Commission is to 'determine the question'

Thus the province can overrule the Council in the matter of policing expenditures (because provincial appointees constitute a majority on the Police Commission). The Board is the bargaining agent of the municipality and is empowered to settle claims for wage increases without reference to the Council."

Despite these concerns, the general level of satisfaction with policing in Metro, as indicated from the briefs to the Commission, appears to be high. A few briefs, such as those from Nigel Richardson and Dr. George Luste, expressed concern that the police force had become more remote from the average citizen since the amalgamation of the area municipality forces in 1957 and the firefighters' unions echoed this concern. It is argued that the absence of the neighbourhood policeman who knows the people in the community is leading to increased alienation and perhaps, ultimately, to increased crime in the streets. Both Mr. Richardson and Dr. Luste suggested that some kind of two-tier system of policing might be preferable.

On the other hand, the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations and the Leasehold Property Owners argued that policing was most appropriately a Metro responsibility since crime knows no boundaries.

### Emergency Measures

The Emergency Measures Department is responsible for the planning and co-ordination of services and agencies in crisis situations such as floods, air crashes or major fires. In February of this year, the ambulance function, formerly part of Emergency Measures, was removed from this department and a separate Ambulance Services Department was established. In addition, the federal government has withdrawn its financial assistance for all emergency measures and, as of the end of 1975, no further provincial grants to municipalities for emergency measures will be given.

As a result, on January 1, 1976 the Emergency Measures Department will be disbanded and its planning

functions transferred to the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force.

### Ambulance services

By 1976, this new department will be responsible for all ambulance services within Metro, a responsibility previously shared by Metro, the province and a number of private operators.

At present, this department dispatches all ambulances in Metro through its own central communications centre. It is also tied in to the central emergency number 361-1111. The department also has direct lines to other emergency services such as hospitals, police departments and fire departments in the event that a call received requires more than one service. Ambulances entering Metro from other municipalities must report through the department's central communications centre. This policy is one shared with all provincial ambulance operations to ensure the most effective use of equipment on longer out-of-town trips.

Because it is a large centre, Metro is on call to serve smaller neighbouring municipalities in the case of a major emergency.

### Fire fighting

Fire departments are responsible for fire fighting, fire prevention and rescue services. They inspect new building plans before building permits are issued and from time to time inspect existing buildings for fire hazards.

Each area municipality in Metropolitan Toronto has its own fire department and each has its own training program for its firefighters.

Although more than half of all calls for fire service are relayed through the central Metro emergency number 361-1111, the borough departments say this set-up leads to delays in responding to calls. Local fire departments attempt to familiarize new residents of their municipality with the phone number of the local fire department and urge them to use it in preference to the central emergency number. However, is the North York Firefighters pointed out in their brief, the existence of a Metro emergency number with which

all Metro residents are acquainted is a desirable communications feature.

When a fire occurs on or near a municipal boundary, the respective fire departments co-operate in providing service. Firefighters' unions say this arrangement works well. The City of Toronto however, charges \$1,400 per hour per unit for the services of its men and equipment outside its boundaries and does not participate in the mutual aid agreements among the various fire departments.

Professional firefighters' unions from all of the area municipalities in Metro except the City of Toronto appeared before the Commission to oppose any amalgamation of fire services. The borough forces claimed that six fire departments could give at least as good service at lower cost than one unified force. The City of Toronto Fire Chief does not share this view.

Borough firefighters argued that fire fighting is a local service and with smaller fire departments, firemen get to know the area they serve extremely well. They know the location of streets where traffic bottlenecks are most likely to occur, the kinds of buildings that are in the area and the kinds of special fire hazards, such as chemical plants, which are particular to their areas.

They pointed out that with the six fire departments, Metro Toronto has consistently had better fire fighting services than municipalities of comparable size. In fact, they noted that cities such as London, England and New York are now beginning to decentralize their fire fighting departments.

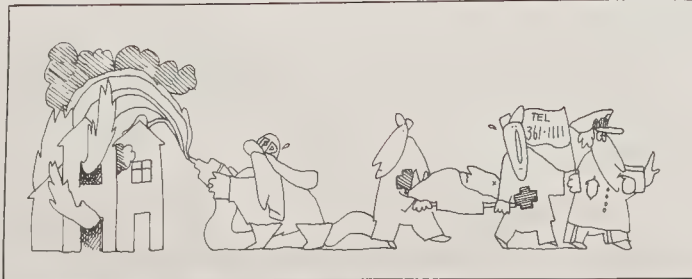
They pointed out, however, that comparisons of the cost of fire fighting services or of financial or human losses due to fire in a municipality are often misleading, since they do not take into account the kinds of construction in a municipality, the nature of the industry, the age of buildings, population densities or the socio-economic conditions which exist. All of these factors have a considerable influence on both the number of fires and the extent of fire losses. For example in 1973, the City had the highest per capita expenditures for fire fighting but still had the highest financial rate of fire loss. If we recognize that the oldest buildings in Metro are in the City, that population densities are higher and that it has a much larger day-time population, then this fact comes as no surprise.

The firefighters also argued that one central dispatch system for such a large area cannot operate as effectively as a decentralized dispatch system. For example, there are 279 street names in Metro which are common to more than one municipality. This does not include duplications within one municipality such as Elm St. and Elm Avenue in the City, or streets with similar sounding names such as Addington, Haddington and Heddington Avenues. The firefighters in the boroughs feel that by having smaller dispatch units many of these problems can be avoided.

They argued, too, that competition among the various fire departments leads to increased performance as firefighters strive to have the best department. The firefighters also talked about the importance of high morale in a dangerous profession such as fire fighting. In small departments, men are known by name and work in a closely-knit framework where good work is better recognized.

The Etobicoke Firefighters pointed to the increase in street crime since local police forces were amalgamated. While they believe that the amalgamation of the police and the subsequent loss of the neighbourhood policeman is not the sole reason for increased crime, they believe it may be a contributing factor.

All of the suburban forces claimed that amalgamation of fire fighting services would ultimately lead to greater, increased costs. They argued that if there were only one department, bor-



ough councils would want the same number of stations and personnel per capita and the same amount of equipment as the City has today. Even though it might not be needed, they felt that the provision of an equal level of service throughout Metro could well become a political necessity.

The East York Firefighters also warned of the possibility of a Metro-wide strike at some time in the future if there were only one fire department.

In opposition to these arguments, a number of individuals and community groups suggested that the six departments be amalgamated. They argued that amalgamation would result in reduced costs for fire fighting and a more reliable standard of service. Included in their numbers were Edmund Peachey, Bathurst Heights Secondary School Geography Class 53B, and Kenneth Robinson, M.P. for Toronto-Lakeshore.

## Building departments

Among other things, local buildings departments are responsible for enforcing and administering a number of bylaws which relate to safety. All buildings departments report to a coun-

cil committee of their respective municipality.

Until very recently, the area municipalities in Metro have not had a uniform building code. The National Building Code, which formed the backbone of area municipality codes, specified how materials should perform but not what they should be. Plans are now underway to standardize building codes in all Ontario municipalities.

Because buildings departments are concerned with general safety standards, they work very closely with fire departments. In addition, they examine plans, inspect buildings, signs, swimming pool fences and hazardous sites.

## Emergency communications

There is one central emergency number (361-1111) for all of Metro, the politan Toronto. When a call is received, the caller is immediately transferred to the agency requested or, if the caller does not know which agency's services he requires, dispatchers listen in and refer him to the appropriate one.

Agencies serviced by this number include:

- The Metro Toronto Police Force

- Municipal Fire Departments
- The Department of Ambulance Services and other ambulance services
- The Department of Emergency Measures
- The Harbour Police - City of Toronto
- The Academy of Medicine

Some individuals argue that the system should be replaced by a 911 number. Such a system would ensure that calls could be held for eventual tracing and nuisance calls could be disconnected. As with the present system, calls could be made coin free from phone booths. The cost of converting to such a system, however, would be very high.

Some safety agencies, such as the borough fire departments, claim that a central emergency number delays their response time. One has to balance this consideration with the simplicity of using one number for almost all emergencies.

To date, there appears to be no strong body of opinion on public safety questions except those views expressed about fire fighting, but a number of the municipal briefs to be heard later this fall are expected to deal with this question.



# Social and Human Services

A background report on *Social Policy in Metropolitan Toronto* was prepared for the Commission by Mary Collins Consultants and Community Social Planning Associates. According to this study, while approximately two-thirds of the expenditures of both the province and Metro are for education, health, social welfare, recreation and libraries, there is no comprehensive social policy system in Metropolitan Toronto. That is to say that social and human services are often not co-ordinated or evaluated within an overall context before and during implementation.

Despite these facts, the Commission has received less comment about aspects of the social policy field than any other area included in its inquiry. What the Commission has heard frequently is that municipalities are running out of money, that government spending is excessive, that the property tax can no longer support local government to the extent that it has in the past, that government programs are not subject to sufficient scrutiny and so on.

Given the amount of government expenditure in the social policy field, structures, policies and programs in this field must be examined with these concerns in mind.

Perhaps it is useful to look at how we got to where we are today. Major programs in different areas of the social policy field were developed at different times by different agencies and levels of government.

With the rapid urbanization of this area, citizens turned more and more to local government for welfare assistance, health care, the provision of leisure activities and so on. In response, many new programs have been and are being developed in each of the social policy sectors. This growth has been followed by a gradual shift of power away from the local community to larger units and higher levels of administration and policy-making. Any co-ordination that exists, even among programs that are naturally related, has been mainly the result of good informal working relationships among staff members. According to the consultants, policies have too often been established or programs funded and administered without any consultation with the other sectors of the social policy field.

Given the number of both public and private agencies in this field, organizational goals often compete or conflict, jurisdictions overlap and service areas frequently do not coincide with political jurisdictions. The result is a system which is so complicated that it baffles and frustrates the average citizen in need of services.

Although a complex social system may be necessary in view of the variety of needs to be met, the functions of various sectors, their natural relatedness and the linkages or lack of them ought to be examined.

If one looks at the costs of the social system expressed as a percentage of municipal or provincial revenues, and the annual increases in costs, it is clear that we cannot afford to sustain this rate of increase in expenditures. At the same time, the responsibility of government to ensure that Metro residents enjoy a reasonable quality of life and help in time of need is generally recognized. There seems little doubt that the actual delivery of "soft" or human services will be the major activity of local governments in years to come.

In representations to the Commission, it was suggested repeatedly that only the setting of broad policy guidelines and general priorities and the establishment of major financing and budget constraints should be at a regional or higher level of govern-

ment. This is because people want the delivery of human services at the area municipality or even neighbourhood level, they want to play a direct role in that delivery and they are unhappy with the lack of co-ordination among the various sectors in the social policy field.

The arguments advanced for decentralizing social services to the local level are these:

- greater accessibility
- greater responsiveness to special needs
- more innovation
- greater involvement by people
- reduced need for transportation because services are close to where people live
- greater fiscal responsibility
- greater emphasis on prevention in that potential problems can be identified and responded to sooner.

An issue paper on Human Services prepared by Marvyn Novick for a Bureau of Municipal Research—Social Planning Council Conference on Metro Toronto held last spring supported the decentralization of all human services.

The division of social policy responsibilities at the local government level and the separation of agencies is largely a reflection of the way in which social policy programs are organized and delivered by the senior levels of government.

For the Commission's purposes the social policy system has been divided into five sectors: Education, Health, Social Welfare, Recreation and Libraries.

## Education

The development of Ontario's education system, including its tremendous growth since the 1940's, has been marked by a move to larger and larger units of administration, the first being the establishment of the Metropolitan Toronto School Board in 1954. The purpose of this new Board was to assure necessary school construc-

tion (this was in a period of rapidly increasing enrolment) and to assist in financing school operations by sharing the resources of the total Metropolitan area. Each area municipality's school board continued to operate the local schools.

The major concerns at that time were the inequality of services throughout the area and disparities in the burden of cost. These still existed in 1985 and were a major concern at the time of the Goldenberg Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto.

Although the Goldenberg Commission's recommendations concerning the establishment of District Education Councils and a strengthened Metro School Board were not accepted by the provincial government, some changes in the composition of the Metro Board were made when the Metropolitan government was restructured in 1987. The functions of the Metro Board were also expanded at that time.

At present, perhaps the major functions of the Metro-wide education budget and allocate it to the area boards on an equitable basis. The Board is also responsible for all capital funding. In 1989, it assumed responsibility for the education of retarded children in Metro, formerly a function of the Ontario Association for the Mentally Retarded.

## Education spending

In 1969, the province introduced a new educational grants system and, in 1971, it imposed expenditure ceilings on local school boards since education costs were rising much faster than either the general municipal mill rate or enrolment in the school system. This was the only way of limiting the total amount spent on education, since boards of education can raise additional revenue to compensate for any decrease in provincial grants by increasing local taxation, a move which does not require provincial authorization.

The complexity of the grant formulae, and the increasing loss of autonomy by local school boards in the face of growing reliance on provincial grants and externally imposed financial limits is a current concern as evidenced by the briefs received by the Commission so far.

Robert Spencer, a Toronto Board trustee, in a personal submission to the Commission said that

"The fiscal situation in Toronto is such that, regardless of local priority, the area board is unable to act decisively to respond to major policy thrusts. The overlapping and constantly changing regulations of the provincial government, the regional office and the Metro Board adds confusion and chaos to the formal control imposed by the educational ceilings and weighting factors. I can only begin here to express my frustration at the near total inability of the local citizen to effect global spending/income policies in education at the City or borough level.

As a trustee, I am a middle man and regardless of the role the community wants me to take in budget decisions, our board's lack of financial autonomy keeps me from delivering on all but the most trivial changes. The Commission must make a serious attempt to develop a new financial delivery system in municipal government for Metropolitan Toronto."

Most of the briefs received which dealt with education supported the notion that area boards of education should have more control over their budgets.

Clare Farrow from Etobicoke suggested that expenditures by local boards, above and beyond those covered by provincial grants, should be determined at the area municipality level and collected at that level. While the report of the Ministerial Commission on the Organization and Financing of the Public and Secondary School Systems in Metropolitan Toronto (Loves Commission) in 1974



A place to grow

Peter Mykusz

argued against local control over ordinary expenses, Mr. Farrow claims that its arguments for doing so "do not hold water".

Mr. Farrow argues that:

"The feeling is prevalent in Etobicoke that it might as well spend on certain things, since other jurisdictions in Metro do it and if we do not, then we are denying ourselves something while helping to pay for others through the uniform mill rate.

"We need a system that will engender financial restraint."

"We need a system that will provide as much local autonomy as possible."

"We need a system that will permit a Board to set its own ordinary expense priorities without the need for a second-tier approval."

"We need a system that will reduce the size and cost of the educational hierarchy."

The Scarborough Board in its brief claimed:

"It is essential that, within the two-tier framework, the individual boards have full autonomy to utilize the financial resources made available to them within the educational guidelines provided by the Ministry".

The Board went on to recommend that the two mill ceiling on the use of capital funds from current budgets be lifted. It argued that the elimination of this ceiling would reduce the mill rate as borrowing charges would gradually disappear. The Board suggested, too, that the Metro School Board capital budget be used "only for the acquisition of additional pupil spaces or full replacement of obsolete facilities". It went on to say that "the balance of the existing capital budget for renovations and updating of facilities should be included in the area board budgets under the existing permanent improvements formula".

The Scarborough Board also suggested that school boards be allowed to set aside reserve funds for special projects from any surpluses realized from current operations. It argued that such a policy would encourage economies by area boards.

While the majority of those who have submitted briefs dealing with education appear to favour the retention of a two-tier educational system in Metro, most seem to support a strengthening of the area boards with respect to local spending and priority setting.

Despite the number who favour much more decentralization of the educational system, there are those who hold the opposite view. For example, although it supported the continuation of the present educational structure, the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto "would like to see in future a more uniform approach to certain problems, i.e., equalization of educational tax dollars in order to eliminate the wide-ranging disparity of per capita spending per secondary and primary school student, which creates situations where one borough is within provincial educational ceilings and is being penalized by being asked to make budget cuts".

The Council added that this situation reflects the parochial attitudes of the borough boards of education; each protects its facilities at the expense of the boards in other boroughs. The Council claims that this is vividly shown in the level of plant maintenance of schools which varies significantly from borough to borough.

Another area of concern to the Council was that there is no coordinated approach to certain policies, programs and objectives which in its view should be consistent across Metro. This is especially true in the areas of utilization of educational facilities, work experience programs and early school leaving guidelines.

There are those who support the

amalgamation of the area boards of education in Metro whether or not the two-tier municipal system is retained. Edmund Peachey in his brief wrote

"The cost of maintaining individual Boards of Education is staggering. Six highly-paid Directors of Education perform a similar function but each in his own way. Stacks of audio-visual material are on hand at six units, instead of being drawn as required from a central pool. Each Board has its own computer which is not even shared with the borough municipal office. It is suggested that there be one only elected Board of Education, with one Director of Education, one purchasing agency, etc. This Board should work in close liaison with the provincial Department of Education to establish and maintain an annual budget of available revenue. Existing borough educational headquarters would be retained to house the administrative staff of the respective region."

East York's Collegiate Community Ratepayers, although in favour of retaining the two-tier system of local government, favour the amalgamation of the area school boards:

"We believe that one Metro School Board would be more efficient and less costly. Capital expenditures for schools should be reviewed by the Ontario Municipal Board on some similar Board with an opportunity for citizen input similar to the procedure for capital expenditures by the Borough Council. There are too many good schools being demolished and replaced by new schools which in many respects are no improvement on the old."

A related point was made by the Leasehold Property Owners of East York:

"We also believe that Borough Councils should exercise direct supervision of Board of Education budgets rather than simply rubber stamping them since the Borough Council is responsible for tax collection."

Val Hill in his brief suggested that municipal councils have more control over spending by boards of education and that there should be greater sharing of facilities and cooperation between the two bodies. He also suggested that the area boards of education might be amalgamated into one 50-member board.

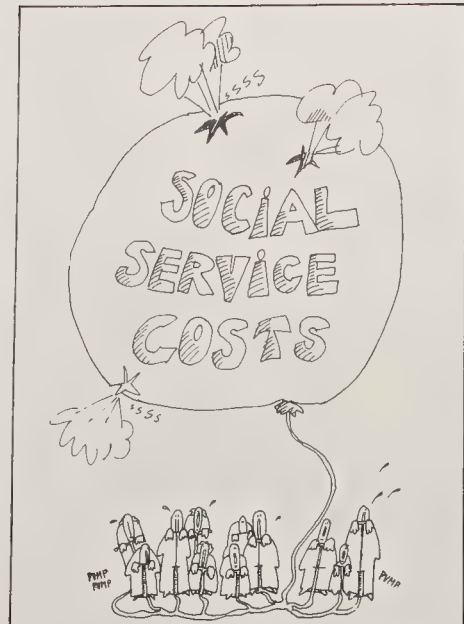
## Education finance

Many briefs suggested removing the burden of the costs of education from the property tax. Most of these recommended that education either be totally financed by the province, or financed from a share of personal and corporate income taxes allocated to the municipalities by the province. Included in their numbers were Robert Spencer, the Oak-Vaughan Ratepayers of York, the Etobicoke Federation of Ratepayers and Residents Associations and the Communist Party of Canada.

Another point raised by many of those who are familiar with the education system was that a two-year term of office for trustees gives a board insufficient time to set priorities and implement programs consistent with them. They point out that priorities are often shifted before programs supporting them ever get off the ground.

## Links with other parts of the social policy field

The educational system has a few formal links with other sectors in the social policy field through cross-appointments from boards of education to library boards and boards of health, and through liaison committees with municipalities for the community use of schools. In addition, there are many informal relationships among



those providing health and social services to children and families through the school system.

The education system has come in for sharp criticism in submissions to the Commission for its alleged inefficiency in working with other community agencies and neighbourhood groups to maximize the use of its costly facilities and avoid unnecessary duplication of services. For example, unused school space can be converted into a day care facility, if even for a few years, until the space is needed again for classrooms.

The Etobicoke Teachers Association recommended that:

"Local municipal councils and local boards of education establish policy co-ordinating committees for the delivery of people-related services in their communities."

"Rationale: In each area municipality, duplication of services and facilities, in the areas of public health, recreation, and education particularly, are expensive and should be avoided."

"Whereas the suggested policy co-ordinating committees should provide for communication, consistency, and avoidance of duplication, they should not be limited to this. Facilitation of the sharing of physical assets, such as parks, school buildings and property, or the costs and personnel to operate people-related programs or the recommendation of such committees, is encouraged."

"Programs, services and facilities should be regarded as serving the entire community, not merely the narrow needs of particular segments of the community."

The boards of education generally argue they have made considerable progress in this field, particularly in the sharing of school space with communities.

One final comment about education came from John Martyniuk in his brief to the Commission. A young student, he said that our educational system did little to inform students about how local government works or to prepare them for active participation in community life.

## Health

The major responsibility for financing and policy development for the health care system is shared by the federal and provincial governments. The major activity of the federal government is the development and support of universal programs such as medical care and hospital insurance. The province is involved directly in the funding and provision of health services.

In 1973-74, approximately 32 per cent or over \$600 million of the budget of the Ontario Ministry of Health was allocated to Metro which has approximately 26 per cent of Ontario's population. By 1974-75, health costs surpassed education costs as the largest item of expenditure in the province's budget. There are new ceilings on the rate of increase in health budgets beyond which the province will not share in the costs.

In addition to provincial expenditures for health, monies are expended by both Metro and the area municipalities. However, they represent a much smaller portion of their total budgets than is the case at the provincial level.

The provision of health services at the local level is divided into public health services, institutional services, services provided by private health practitioners and those provided by voluntary and consumer organizations. The delivery of public health services traditionally has been the major municipal responsibility in the health sector. Capital support to hospitals has been a secondary responsibility.

## Public health

Public health is administered by special purpose boards of health which are appointed by and report to the local council. Membership varies, but all boards within Metro have some elected representatives of the citizens appointed by councils. East York has a provincial representative on its Board of Health.

The boards' budgets must be approved by their respective councils





The activities of boards of health are governed largely by provincial legislation. However, as well as having some flexibility as to the kinds of public health program offered, local boards are free, within certain financial constraints, to experiment with innovative approaches to delivering their services.

The development and administration of public health programs fall under *The Public Health Act*. The provision of certain services is compulsory, particularly in the health inspection field. Included in these responsibilities are pest control, food inspection, emergency services and the prevention and control of infectious diseases. However, for the most part, the personal care services offered by public health departments vary, depending upon the willingness of local boards of health and councils to support them. Discretionary public health programs include, for example, dental programs in schools, home visiting for the elderly and nutrition services.

## The debate over amalgamation

Within Metro, public health boards operate only at the area municipality level, although the Medical Officers of Health (the chiefs of staff for boards of health) have been meeting together regularly for some time. The province has attempted to encourage the establishment of a Metro-wide board of health by offering a financial incentive in the form of greatly increased grants to such a body. However, it has not been successful to date in its efforts. In its brief the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations said:

"We oppose vigorously the amalgamation of public health service and protest the vicious tactics used by the province in order to achieve this amalgamation. Again, particular areas have very particular needs which may change from time to time and the local level is able most readily to respond and adapt."

The Goldenberg Commission recommended that a Metropolitan Board of Health Officers be established

and that some inspection services be performed on a Metro-wide basis. Rather than establishing a new Metropolitan department, the Commission suggested that the City provide services to the other municipalities on a fee-for-service basis.

The Goldenberg Commission foresaw a Metro-wide Board being responsible for co-ordinating public health policies at the local level and advising on health and sanitary inspection matters.

The Goldenberg Commission noted the disparity in per capita expenditures for public health services among the area municipalities, which in 1963 ranged from 41 cents per capita in Long Branch to \$5.74 in the City of Toronto. Ten years later, in 1973, the disparity was still significant, ranging from a low of \$4.40 per capita in Scarborough to a high of \$9.46 per capita in the City of Toronto.

The amalgamation of public health services in Metro has its supporters. Edmund Peachey wrote in his brief:

"There is a need to revamp the present system which has been in operation for years. The present appointed boards of health could be replaced with a central Board having liaison both as to finance and policy, with the provincial Ministry of Health."

"The province would like to see the local boards of health amalgamated into one health unit for the entire Metropolitan area with an increased grant being held out as an inducement. This proposal has not received the support of the borough councils."

While the full amalgamation of health boards has been strongly opposed by Metro's area municipalities, and local boards of health, an Association of Metropolitan Boards of Health was established in 1975 to work out common problems.

## Should health boards be abolished?

Edmund Peachey also pointed out that:

"As an indication of government

thinking so far as retention of local health boards is concerned, a bill has been introduced in the Legislature for the abolition of the Waterloo Board of Health and the transfer of its powers to the Waterloo Regional Council. This is the first instance where this has occurred and should serve as a precedent for Metropolitan Toronto. There is no real reason why health should be administered by a separate board, particularly when its administration is regarded as a department of the municipality."

Ian Rogers, Q.C., also opposed the existence of health boards and suggested that this function be carried out by a committee of council. He pointed out that, while funds for public health are provided by the municipality, health boards can demand that the municipal treasurer pay for any service performed or expenses incurred by it.

"The North York local Board of Health, according to the Globe and Mail of May 15, 1975, 'discovered' this provision and invoked it to continue pre-natal classes which the Board of Control had deleted from the budget and Council has now approved."

## Health planning

The Ontario Council of Health has conducted a number of studies that have included consideration of local health services. The report of the Health Planning Task Force (The Mustard Report) in 1974, recommended that personal health care services carried out by local boards of health be transferred to a new primary health care system which would not be under the jurisdiction of local government. The report also recommended the establishment of District Health Councils which would be responsible for planning and co-ordination of all health services within a local area, including hospital services, services of private practitioners and so on. This recommendation has been put into effect in certain areas of the province, but not as yet in Metropolitan Toronto.

The New Democratic Party suggested in its brief that local boards of health in Metro be required to set up district health councils at the area municipality level to co-ordinate health care activities in their areas. It argued that:

"area municipalities should take much more responsibility for the delivery of health services than they have today."

It went on to say:

"The province's policy of regionalizing health units is clearly inappropriate for Metro when its own municipalities have as many people as Ottawa-Carleton or Hamilton. Certainly specialized health services such as the downtown teaching hospitals would need to be co-ordinated across Metro, but this does not require Metro's assumption of responsibility for health care delivery."

While the Commission has received numerous briefs calling for better local co-ordination of all aspects of health care planning and service delivery, opinion is divided as to whether this ought to be done at the Metropolitan or area municipality level. What is clear is that such planning must be comprehensive and equitable, yet sensitive to the special needs of individual communities.

In this regard, the Commission has heard from two of the three hospital councils in Metropolitan Toronto whose primary functions are to advise on the construction of facilities and co-ordinate the activities of institutional health services in Metro.

The Metropolitan Toronto Hospital Planning Council suggested that the

distribution of health services within Metro's boundaries ought to be assessed and plans and policies adopted to equalize access to health services. This Council argued that health planning should be comprehensive, that is, it should co-ordinate different types of services and organizations rather than one aspect of health services such as hospitals. It also pointed out in its brief that the distinctions between health care services and social services have become very blurred which necessitates co-ordination not only within the health field but also between health bodies and other social agencies.

The other council, the Hospital Council of Metropolitan Toronto, supported the retention of separate planning bodies for different aspects of health service, such as hospital care, and suggested that such planning could be co-ordinated at the Metro level by a District Health Council. It warned against introducing rigid patterns for the delivery of any health services, which could in fact create inequities and ultimately lead to reduced standards of care, increased costs of service or both.

## Institutional services

By far the most expensive aspect of health services is the provision of institutional care through hospitals and similar facilities.

The Metro Toronto hospital system consists of a busy network of facilities and services which includes more than 4000 physicians, 28 acute treatment hospitals, 14 specialized hospital facilities, 7 general and special rehabilitation hospitals, 11 hospitals for the chronically ill and more than 58 nursing homes. While these hospitals primarily serve the population of Metro and the surrounding area, Metro is Ontario's major medical centre and one of the major medical centres in the country, which in some respects puts it in a unique situation with respect to health care.

The pattern of municipal support for hospitals has varied over the past few years and is now a small proportion of total hospital revenues. In 1973, Metro's capital grants to hospitals amounted to \$832,000. However, the more significant hospital expenditures are for operating costs. Operating costs for Metro's hospitals in 1973 were over \$355 million.

Goldenberg saw hospital grants as an appropriate municipal responsibility and supported the need for a Metropolitan Toronto hospital co-ordinating council to maintain an up-to-date analysis of needs and facilities in health services. However, both the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations and the New Democratic Party claimed that any such grants should be made at the area municipality level.

The attempts of the three hospital planning councils in Metro to rationalize the delivery of hospital services and co-ordinate programs for hospital construction and expansion have not been completely successful. To date, there still is a significant amount of data required before there can be a full understanding of the role and performance of the hospital in relationship to the total health care field.

A major concern raised in this area is that at times hospitals are being used for services which could be provided elsewhere at considerably less cost. For example, many residents of Metro who do not have a family doctor tend to use the hospital for help in the event of any illness or accident. Similarly, chronically ill patients often occupy acute treatment beds because of the scarcity and costs of nursing homes.

The Hospital Council of Metropolitan Toronto suggested in its brief that while there is a need for some community level planning in the hospital system, hospital services ought to be planned and co-ordinated at the Metro level.

It added that liaison with other areas outside Metro is important in view of the highly specialized health care services that tend to be concentrated in Metro but serve a larger regional community.

The Metropolitan Toronto Hospital Planning Council claimed that many of the problems in this area cannot be solved unless hospital planning is better co-ordinated with other aspects of health care and other social service planning.

### Private health services

Private practitioners' services are the second most expensive part of the health network. Most practitioners' services are covered under the provincial health insurance program. However, some services are either not included or only partially included, the most important being dentistry. The services of psychologists, chiropractors, remedial gymnasts and remedial masseurs are excluded. In addition, the services of physiotherapists, chiropractors and optometrists in private practice are not always fully covered.

### Voluntary health services

The voluntary sector in the health field is relatively insignificant in terms of expenditure, but it does play an important role in the provision of special services, health research and the development of innovative services.

This sector includes such organizations as the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, the Canadian Hearing Society and the Canadian Cancer Society to name a few. While these agencies receive some government funding, a substantial portion of their revenues is raised from private sources.

Municipalities are empowered to give grants to organizations serving the interests of the community. While most of these grants are for cultural activities, in 1973, for example, the City of Toronto granted \$21,369 to five organizations operating primarily in the health field.

Neighbourhood groups are becoming interested and involved in the provision of health services. The development of community health centres, particularly in the older parts of the City of Toronto, reflects this trend. The City currently is studying the integration of the delivery of all neighbourhood services including health.

## Social welfare

Within the social welfare system, the federal government provides the largest portion of the funding to the provinces through transfer payments under the Canada Assistance Plan, and to individuals through the Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Security, Family and Youth Allowances and Unemployment Insurance.

The province's role involves transfer payments to municipalities, and payments to individuals through the Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement Program (GAINS), Workmen's Compensation and the Family Benefits Program. The Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services is responsible for the majority of provincial social welfare programs. In its relationship with the social welfare administrations of local governments, the Ministry is both a regulator and a direct service agent. It also provides grants to agen-

cies and organizations in the voluntary sector.

With the introduction of Metro government in 1953, social services, or 'welfare' as it was commonly known, remained with the area municipalities. Most area municipalities had few demands then for such services, primarily because of the socio-economic composition of their residential populations and the relative economic prosperity of that time. For the City of Toronto however, it was a different story. Its welfare budget grew rapidly during the recession years of 1958-63.

During this period, the province made certain unconditional grants available to municipalities to assist with social welfare programs. In Metro, this per capita grant went to Metro Council, which in turn allocated it on the basis of population among the area municipalities. Naturally, this proved inequitable for the City of Toronto, which bore the greatest load for welfare services. For example, per capita costs for public welfare in 1963 ranged from 91 cents in Leaside to \$19.34 in the City of Toronto.

It was, in part, the problems that arose out of the handling of these funds, along with the growing concern that there should be a more equitable sharing of the cost burden for welfare, that led to the amalgamation of social services under the Metro government in 1967, following the report of the Goldenberg Commission.

Mr. Goldenberg stopped short of recommending total amalgamation of welfare services. However, he recognized the problems and recommended consolidation of the then 13 municipalities in Metro into 4, each of which could then provide both health and social services on a more equitable basis. His rationale is interesting:

"While it is generally agreed that the personal services directly affecting the individual citizen require a local unit of administration, it is also agreed that such unit must be adequate for the purpose. Small autonomous units with limited resources, like some of the area municipalities, cannot provide the range of services which should be available under modern health and welfare programmes, and the services which they do make available are not satisfactory. A consolidation of some of the municipalities, by enlarging the areas of service and spreading the costs, would lead to more equality in standards and in the range of welfare services provided in the Metro area."

As a result of the province's response to the Goldenberg report, the Metro Department of Social Services officially came into being on January 1, 1967, as part of the restructuring of the Metro government.

### Metro's department of social services

The Social Services Department is headed by a Commissioner of Social Services who reports to the Social Services and Housing Committee of Metropolitan Council. The committee is composed of seven Council members and the Metropolitan Chairman. In 1973, the Department's expenditures represented 26.5 per cent of Metro's gross expenditures and comprised its largest single expenditure. Roughly 52 per cent of the costs were recoverable from senior levels of government through transfer payments.

Over the last decade, the number of permanent social welfare staff in Metro has increased more than five-fold. Similarly, from 1963-1973 expenditures for social services rose from \$20.9 million or \$12.69 per capita to \$80.7 million or \$38.46 per capita.

Costs in this area continue to escalate rapidly. The department's 1975 estimates of gross expenditures (excluding housing) are \$115 million. Of course, many new programs have been introduced, particularly with respect to services to the elderly and day care programs for children of working parents. A pilot program recently announced will provide special cash supplements to fully employed people still suffering financial hardship, and in some cases earning less than they might receive if they were on General Welfare Assistance.

The report of the Task Force on Community and Social Services in 1974 (the Hanson Report), reviewed the allocation of responsibilities in the social welfare field between the provincial and municipal governments. It recommended that the province consider greater delegation of responsibility for all social service programs to responsible regional or metropolitan governments. This aspect of the report's recommendations is still under consideration by the province.

The role of the area municipalities in providing social services has been minimal since the transfer of social service responsibilities to the Metro level. However, the background



Craft room at True Davidson Home for the Aged

Paul Smith



Visiting homemaker teaching mother and young family



information and expertise required to establish a neighbourhood services policy which is directed towards the integrated and rational delivery of all human services at a neighbourhood level is now being assembled by the City of Toronto.

Many of those who submitted briefs to the Commission recommended that the major responsibility for the delivery of social welfare services be returned to the area municipalities. The Thorncliffe Park Community Organization suggested in its brief that it is extremely difficult to realize economies of scale in the provision of human services and that the usual arguments for amalgamation are not applicable to this field. This view is supported in the Novick paper on Human Services which states that "the human services are characterized by the intricate range of interaction that occurs between provider and user. Problems do not tend to present themselves in standardized form so that uniform responses can be predicted."

Others who favour the return of social service delivery to the area municipalities include the New Democratic Party, the Toronto Island Residents' Association and the Communist Party of Canada. Their views are shared by the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations and were summed up in its brief:

"This is a sensitive area, since costs to each municipality have in fact been reduced since Metro took over responsibility for social services in 1967. We believe, however, that income maintenance should be the sole responsibility of the provincial government, so that both costs and benefits can be equalized for all people in Ontario. The administration of benefits, however, should be the responsibility of the area municipalities. Other social services (e.g. day care, information services, senior citizens, child care and a host of others) should also be returned to the area municipalities on the principle that such services must be fully accountable to the consumers, and must be able to respond with extraordinary sensitivity to the particular needs of particular groups, often in very particular areas of neighbourhoods."

"Provincial guidelines, of course, need to be set, but within these guidelines, the area municipalities should have considerable freedom to respond to special needs."

From the presentations received, it is not altogether clear whether these groups support a Metro role in setting standards and ensuring equal access to social services for all Metro residents.

Another major concern in the social policy area apart from the lack of co-ordination among those planning and delivering social services, is the lack of influence this whole sector has on planning for the community. Many of those appearing before the Commission felt that social concerns were not given adequate consideration in the planning of housing and transportation.

Peter Loebel in his brief suggested that direct citizen involvement in neighbourhood planning would help to alleviate this problem.

## The voluntary sector

The voluntary sector has traditionally played a major role in the provision of social services, as have private social planning councils, such as the three now existing in the Metro area. The consultants who prepared the Commission's background report on Social Policy noted the increasing involvement of the general public and recipients of services in the total social welfare system, with respect to both policy development and service delivery. While the trend toward better co-ordination of services may require the transfer of authority and the loss of

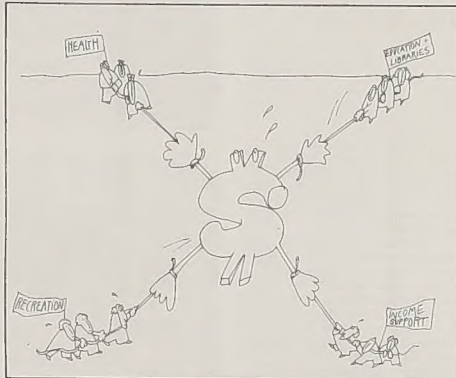
power for some agencies or levels of government, or accountability to more than one body, it is being given serious attention by many of those involved in the system.

## Children's Aid Societies

There are two Children's Aid Societies in Metro. According to the background report, *Social Policy in Metropolitan Toronto*, changing social trends have affected their role, organization and services. Current concerns relate to whether the Children's Aid Societies ought to continue to be autonomous or whether the possibilities of amalgamating the two organizations, centralizing children's protection services at the Metro level or transferring these responsibilities to the province ought to be considered.

# Recreation

Recreation is characterized by a wide range of public and private sector involvement. While the federal government is involved in the provision of national parks and projects such as Harboursfront, assistance to provincial fitness and sport programs and so on, the primary responsibility is at the provincial level. The province provides direct assistance to local programs through the Ministry of Culture and Recreation and administers legislation supporting community recreation centres. In addition, the province owns some recreational facilities in Metro, such as the Ontario Science Centre, Ontario Place, the Royal Ontario Museum and the Art Gallery of Ontario.



An attempt to co-ordinate planning for tourism and outdoor recreation has resulted in the creation of an inter-departmental committee that has undertaken a major provincial Tourism and Outdoor Recreation Planning Study (TORPS).

The role and function of the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority, as well as its relationship to Metro, government and a wide variety of other provincial and local committees, indicate it plays an important role in the provision of parks for Metro residents. As the Authority pointed out in its brief:

"The established policy of the Authority is that lands acquired for water conservation purposes may be used for open space and recreation facilities, provided there is no interference with the ability of the valley system to pass flood flows. One of the resulting programs has been the conservation areas program. This system of conservation areas will continue to expand as additional lands and reservoir areas become available under the Plan for Flood Control and Water Conservation."

"In addition to the conservation areas program, the Authority has entered into an agreement with The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, whereby lands acquired for flood control and other conservation purposes, within the bounds of the Metropolitan Corporation, are developed, operated and maintained by the Metropolitan Parks Department for recreation purposes. The Authority retains title to these lands and the Metropolitan Corporation submits all development plans to the Authority for approval. Since 1957, approximately 5750 acres of valley lands have been acquired and turned over to Metropolitan Toronto for park development."

"This system of conservation areas has provided the setting for the Authority's outdoor and conservation education programs. These programs are offered in most conservation areas to school children, youth organizations, adult and family groups. All lands and projects of the Authority are in fact considered an educational tool."

"The outdoor and conservation education program is only part of the Authority's Information and Education Program that has been developed to encourage public understanding and support for the Authority's work."

"The Historical Sites Program has also resulted indirectly from the acquisition of lands by the Authority. The program has been carried out to preserve and develop those things of historical and cultural value, important to the heritage of Ontario. The principal component of this program has been the development and operation of Black Creek Pioneer Village."

It is important to point out that many of the recreational facilities used by Metro residents are outside Metro's boundaries; therefore, statistics relating to recreational facilities in Metro only are in some respects misleading. For example, facilities such as the McMichael Canadian Collection of Art and the Niagara Escarpment lands are extensively used by Metro residents.

Within Metro, both the Metro government and the area municipalities have responsibilities for parks and recreation. All have parks departments or parks and recreation departments.

The Metropolitan Parks Department was established in 1955 and the Toronto Islands were conveyed to Metro the next year. The department now operates 42 regional parks covering 5,322 acres. It also operates 5,750 acres of open space for the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority.



The Metro Parks Department has emphasized the development of parkland primarily for passive use. It has the responsibility for all regional parks including the major ravines, the waterfront (excluding the central waterfront), and the Toronto Islands. It also operates public golf courses. Several submissions to the Commission were critical of Metro's decision to remove housing on the Toronto Islands to expand its open space there, and argued that it has not adequately justified the need for this additional space.

The Metro Parks Department reports to a Parks and Recreation Committee of Council. This Committee also reports to Council on the operations of recreational agencies such as the Canadian National Exhibition Association, the Metropolitan Toronto Zoological Society, the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority and the Civic Garden Centre.

Briefs from the New Democratic Party, Dennis Prinnold and the Confederation of Residents and Ratepayer Associations recommended that the ownership and operation of Metro parks be returned to the area municipalities so that programs could be designed for the people living near them who they say use these facilities most. The Confederation of Residents and Ratepayer Associations also suggested that costs of developing new regional parks within Metro itself (e.g. the waterfront or the Don Valley) should probably be shared by all the area municipalities equally, with appropriate federal or provincial assistance.

All area municipalities have parks and recreation departments which report to their councils, usually through parks and recreation committees. In some municipalities, citizens are deeply involved in many aspects of recreation planning and programming.

Insofar as recreational facilities are concerned, the area municipalities have concentrated on those for active recreational use. They are responsible for neighbourhood parks and playgrounds, community centres and swimming pools. In addition, they assume the full responsibility for the development of local recreational programs. For example, over the winter of 1974-75, the City of Toronto offered 95 different recreation programs through its Parks and Recreation Department. The Departments of all of the area municipalities have comparable recreation programs, ranging from cultural activities to sports, which have been tailored to meet the needs and wishes of area residents.

The area municipalities own a total of 6,140 acres of parks and parkland varying from less than one acre each to the largest, High Park, in the City of Toronto, with 398 acres.

The following table indicates the amount of parkland provided by each of the area municipalities and indicates the acreage of parkland per thousand population.

	ACREAGE IN LOCAL PARKS	ACREAGE IN METRO PARKS	ACRES OF LOCAL PARKLAND PER THOUSAND PEOPLE	TOTAL ACRES OF PARKLAND PER THOUSAND PEOPLE INCLUDING METRO PARKS
East York	415.7	474.7	1.10	2.50
Eatonville	1416.6	591.9	4.95	7.02
North York	1591.8	1394.0	3.02	5.66
Scarborough	1175.8	1725.0	3.02	8.01
Toronto	1515.5	886.0	2.24	3.55
York	324.7	250.5	3.28	4.04

Per capita expenditures for parks and recreation in 1973 ranged from \$15.35 in East York to \$25.95 in Etobicoke. The total for the area municipalities' budgets for parks and recreation in 1973 was \$40.6 million; Metro's budget of \$8.2 million (or \$3.94 per capita) can be added to this figure to obtain a total of \$48.8 million for local expenditures on parks in Metro.

In addition to the \$8.2 million, Metro also spends money on recreation through the Conservation Authority as part of the latter's flood control program, conservation area program and

waterfront plan. Metro Toronto provides 90 per cent of the total municipal contributions to the Authority, or 39 per cent of the Authority's total expenditures, which were approximately \$20 million in 1974. The remainder is made up of operating revenues, provincial grants and contributions from other municipalities.

Several municipalities are now working to develop new forms of interaction between the public and their parks and recreation departments. In addition, many local recreation departments are involved in promoting the community use of schools and improving relationships with local boards of education.

## Public libraries

Public libraries remained a locally provided service even after Metropolitan government was introduced, although the boroughs varied widely in their local support of libraries and in library utilization.

In 1958 an amendment to *The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act* empowered Metro Council to make grants for capital and current expenditures to any area library board that provided library services to any other municipality.

The Goldenberg Report supported the formation of a Metro Public Library Board, a concept first recommended in 1960 in a report prepared by Dr. Ralph Shaw for Metro Council and endorsed by a Special Committee on Library Services appointed by the Metropolitan Council in 1962 to review and report on the Shaw Report.

The Metropolitan Toronto Library Board came into operation in 1967. It is a regional library board with the responsibility for co-ordinating library services within the Metropolitan area and providing central library and reference services for the total area.

Members of the Metro Library Board include representatives appointed by the councils of each area municipality, the Metro Chairman, and representatives from each of the two Metro-wide school boards.

Local boards continue to operate most libraries in Metro. Under Part I of *The Public Libraries Act*, their mandate is as follows: "Every board shall endeavour to provide in co-operation with other boards a comprehensive efficient library service. They must operate a main library and may operate a variety of other programs they consider necessary." Local library boards have representatives appointed by both the local council and the board of education, and are composed primarily of citizens and usually the mayor or his delegate. Their budgets are subject to the approval of the local council.



establishing central facilities for area-wide use. The increased participation of citizens in library affairs, and the need to ensure that services are provided equitably to all parts of the community are the other major areas of concern.

Again, consistent with their view that local government in Metro should be decentralized, the New Democratic Party and the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations suggested that the Metro Library Board was not needed. They suggested that the Central Reference Library could become the responsibility of the City of Toronto since it is located in the City, and that the costs could be prorated among the municipalities of the whole greater Toronto urban region.

The East York Public Library Board argued in its brief that the present two-tier system is the best system to meet Metro's library needs.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, Eric Bow wrote:

"Competition among the library boards of the area municipalities is hurting library service. The libraries of Metropolitan Toronto spend over \$25 million a year; if this money is to be spent wisely, co-ordination and region-wide planning are necessary. I believe the Metropolitan Toronto Library Board should have power, (a) to require each library board within the Metropolitan area to prepare and submit to the Library Board, from time to time as the Library Board may prescribe, its

proposals and recommendations with respect to the provision of adequate library service within its jurisdiction, and the estimated cost thereof; (b) to review and consolidate all such proposals, in consultation with the library boards of the area municipalities and the Metropolitan Council, and to prepare and revise from time to time a composite proposal on the recommendations of the Library Board for the provision of adequate library service for the Metropolitan Area as a whole; (c) to submit to the Metropolitan Council from time to time the composite proposal referred to above, together with all relevant information with respect thereto; (d) to review and to determine, in consultation with the library boards of the area municipalities where branch libraries will be located and the services to be offered by these branch libraries. Maybe with the above provisions you would not get a situation where a Chinese collection is placed in the Danforth branch when most of the Chinese community resides west of University Avenue and where the Toronto Public Libraries are planning a resource centre only a short distance from a North York Public Library resource centre and on a direct line with the new Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library."

To date, no common view as to the best system for providing library services in Metro has emerged.



# Citizen Participation

Many of those who presented briefs at the Commission's summer hearings made reference to the lack of accessibility, accountability and responsiveness on the part of local government in Metro, particularly with respect to the Metropolitan level. There appeared to be an uneasiness about big government in general. A number of people suggested that more opportunities for citizen participation ought to be provided.

While virtually everyone seems to be in favour of citizen participation, there is no common understanding of what the term means. The numerous suggestions made to the Commission to make local government more participatory reflect the different perceptions people have.

Citizen participation is an all-embracing kind of term. It has been used to define programs which range from those which simply provide information to the public to those which permit direct citizen control.

There are a variety of ways in which one can participate in local government. Among them are voting, contacting one's elected representative, joining a lobby group, appearing as a delegation before a council committee, appealing a municipal decision, joining a study group, sitting on non-elected government bodies such as planning or public health boards, taking part in a task force such as the Core Area Task Force or sitting on an advisory body such as the Metropolitan Advisory Committee.

Of interest to the Commission is the level of participation in local government that most Metro residents want, how it might be achieved, how it would affect the quality of decision making, what benefits it would pro-

vide, how much it would cost in terms of both time and money and whether or not the people of Metro would be willing to pay for it.

From the briefs submitted earlier this year, three viewpoints emerge.

There are those who believe that we elect people to lead us and that we should give them the support, assistance and power they need to carry out this role. They argue that elected representatives who do not fulfil their obligations to their constituents do not remain in office.

Still others believe that while decisions should be made by elected representatives, the role of these representatives is to carry forward the views of their constituents on all issues rather than to make independent judgments of their own.

Supporters of both of these points of view suggest that we might have better local government in Metro if we reduced the workload of our elected representatives. They suggest that the size of the population they represent should be reduced; that they should be given research staff to help them study the many reports with which they must deal; and that they should be given sufficient remuneration to live well without any other sources of income. Finally, they suggest that direct election to Metro Council would eliminate the situation whereby councillors sit on two councils and do not have the time to give adequate attention to both.

Some of those who support the second view suggest that neighbourhood advisory councils ought to be set up to facilitate direct communication between elected representatives and their constituents. While they suggest that these councils be voluntary, they

argue that they should be given official recognition and have access to civic staff for any assistance they might need.

A third group argues that governments in general, including elected representatives, appointed officials and senior bureaucrats have altogether too much power and that the concentration of power should be avoided. They say that all decisions affecting our day-to-day lives should be made at the lowest possible level. That is to say, neighbourhoods should run neighbourhoods and municipalities should run municipalities. This was the view most commonly expressed to the Commission. However, while there was some agreement on this basic approach, there were few concrete suggestions from the public as to how it might be implemented.

A number of individuals and groups suggested the creation of neighbourhood units of government but no one specified what exactly these units of government would do. Nonetheless, they were clearly seen as bodies that would make decisions on neighbourhood issues and services. No one indicated how much such units might cost, although it would be difficult to do so without defining their structure, their powers and the resources to be made available to them.

What is perhaps the most critical question is how one defines a neighbourhood issue. Metro residents appear to be very divided on this question or, if not divided, tend to redefine the term depending on whose neighbourhood is involved. Consider the closing off of some residential streets to through traffic, the construction or conversion of housing units to exclude children, the efforts of upper and middle income

groups to block the construction of public housing for needy families in or near their neighbourhoods. Are these neighbourhood issues? If yes, where, for example, does the traffic go? Certainly not all Metro residents have equal access to transit nor can many always afford the area in which they would prefer to live. Where do families live? Where do we build public housing? Not one new unit for low-income families has been built in Metro since 1973. On the other hand, if these are Metropolitan or regional concerns, how can a neighbourhood protect itself from the actions of the more powerful?

Given the concern about the size, complexity and cost of modern government, can we consider adding new units of government without eliminating others? Institutions do not self-destruct easily. The Commission has not received one submission from a government body suggesting that it has outlived its usefulness and ought to be phased out of existence. What is perhaps surprising is that very few individuals or groups outside government have suggested doing so either.

These are just some of the dilemmas facing the Commission with respect to citizen participation. It is clearly not a separate area of study. Rather, it touches on virtually every aspect of the Commission's work.

It is recognized that new local government structures will not in themselves change the attitudes and values of those involved in the system. The question, however, is whether there are aspects of the present structure of Metropolitan Toronto which hamper the achievement of an appropriate level of citizen participation in local decision-making.

Les Baxter



# Public Hearings of The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto

## Fall Schedule

- Wednesday, October 8, 1975 — 2:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.**  
North York Inter-Agency Council  
Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto  
Toronto Hydro Electric Commission  
Ontario Motor League
- Tuesday, October 14, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.**  
North York Board of Health  
Metro District Council,  
Canadian Union of Public Employees  
Town of Pickering  
Irving Paisley
- Tuesday, October 21, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.**  
Alderman David Smith (City of Toronto)  
Clarence C. Downey  
Horace Brown  
Scarborough Public Utilities Commission  
Etobicoke Board of Health
- Wednesday, October 29, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.**  
Toronto Real Estate Board  
Metropolitan Toronto Y.M.C.A.  
Noelle De Wolfe  
Toronto Redevelopment Advisory Council  
Etobicoke Social Planning Council
- Monday, November 3, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.**  
Town of Ajax  
York Board of Education  
York County Board of Education  
Etobicoke Public Library Board  
Etobicoke Board of Education  
Scarborough Board of Health
- Tuesday, November 4, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.**  
North York Public Library Board  
Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board  
Ontario Arts Council  
The Town of Markham  
Rosebank Residents Association
- Wednesday, November 5, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.**  
Borough of North York  
Dr. Eugene Faludi  
The Parking Authority of Toronto  
Alderman Colin Vaughan (City of Toronto)  
Controller Bruce Sinclair (Borough of Etobicoke)
- Wednesday, November 12, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.**  
Metropolitan Toronto Board of Trade  
Toronto Parking Operators Association  
City Parking Canada Ltd.  
Bedford Park Residents Association  
Thomas Wilson P. Eng.  
Forest Hill Residents Association
- Monday, December 8, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.**  
Borough of East York  
Metropolitan Toronto Library Board  
Ontario Teachers Federation  
Marlene Mocchiola  
Regional Municipality of York
- Wednesday, December 10, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.**  
Borough of York  
City of Mississauga  
Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto  
Urban Development Institute  
Karl Mallette
- Thursday, December 11, 1975 — 2:00 p.m.**  
Borough of Etobicoke
- Thursday, December 18, 1975 — 2:00 p.m.**  
Borough of Scarborough
- Friday, December 19, 1975 — 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.**  
Toronto Historical Board  
Township of King  
Toronto Board of Health  
Alderman Anne Johnston (City of Toronto)

All hearings are held in the North Auditorium of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at 252 Bloor St. West.

A few days will be set aside in late January, 1976, to provide a final opportunity for members of the public to appear before the Commission. In addition, anyone wishing to question, challenge or rebut statements made in previous submissions may do so at that time. However, all hearings must be scheduled in advance.

This paper is published by The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto.

Hon. John P. Roberts, C.C., Q.C.  
Commissioner

Richard Rohmer, Q.C.  
Counsel

Kenneth Cameron, M.C.I.P.  
Executive Secretary

Sharon Cohen  
Research Co-ordinator

Whipple Steinkrauss  
Co-ordinator of Public Liaison

Illustrations by Linda Bucholtz-Ross

The Commission offices are located at  
145 Queen Street West, Suite 309  
Toronto, Ontario M5H 2N9  
Telephone 965-3211

Additional copies of this publication are available free of charge from the Commission offices.

Photos courtesy of: Metropolitan Toronto Department of Social Services, Metropolitan Toronto Library Board, Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, Metropolitan Toronto Police Department, Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority, City of Toronto Board of Health, The Borough of Scarborough, Kenneth Cameron, Ontario Ministry of Industry and Tourism, Ontario Ministry of Transportation and Communications.